



CAMBRIDGE CLASSICAL STUDIES

*Oscan in the
Greek Alphabet*

NICHOLAS ZAIR

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

OSCAN IN THE GREEK ALPHABET

Oscan was spoken in Southern Italy in the second half of the first millennium BC. Here, for the first time, all the evidence for the spelling of Oscan in the Greek alphabet is collected and examined. Understanding the orthography of these inscriptions has far-reaching implications for the historical phonology and morphology of Oscan and the Italic languages (for example, providing unique evidence for the reconstruction of the genitive plural). A striking discovery is the lack of a standardised orthography for Oscan in the Greek alphabet, which seriously problematises attempts to date inscriptions by assuming the consistent chronological development of spelling features. There are also intriguing insights into the linguistic situation in South Italy. Rather than a separate community of Oscan-speakers who had adopted and subsequently adapted the Greek alphabet in isolation, we should posit groups who were in touch with contemporary developments in Greek orthography due to widespread Greek–Oscan bilingualism.

NICHOLAS ZAIR is a Research Associate on the AHRC-funded ‘Greek in Italy’ project based in the Faculty of Classics at the University of Cambridge. He studied in Oxford before taking up a Research Fellowship at Peterhouse, Cambridge. He has published widely on the historical developments of the orthography, phonology and morphology of the Italic and Celtic languages, and is particularly interested in the effects of language contact. His previous book, *The Reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals in Celtic* (2012), won the Zeuss prize of the Societas Celtologica Europea.

CAMBRIDGE CLASSICAL STUDIES

General editors

R. L. HUNTER, R. G. OSBORNE, M. MILLETT,
G. BETEGH, G. C. HORROCKS, S. P. OAKLEY,
W. M. BEARD, T. WHITMARSH

OSCAN IN THE GREEK ALPHABET

NICHOLAS ZAIR
University of Cambridge



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107068926

© Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge 2016

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2016

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Zair, Nicholas, 1982– author.

Oscan in the Greek alphabet / Nicholas Zair.

New York : Cambridge University Press, [2016] |

Series: Cambridge classical studies

LCCN 2015041996 | ISBN 9781107068926 (hardback)

LCSH: Oscan language – Orthography and spelling. | Inscriptions, Oscan – Italy, Southern. | Oscan language – Italy, Southern – History. | BISAC: FOREIGN LANGUAGE STUDY / Ancient Languages (see also Latin).

LCC PA2457 .Z35 2016 | DDC 479/.9–dc23

LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/2015041996>

ISBN 978-1-107-06892-6 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

CONTENTS

<i>List of tables and figure</i>	<i>page</i> vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ix
<i>Conventions and readings</i>	xi
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xiii
1. Introduction	I
Oscan and its alphabets	I
The linguistic situation of south Italy	5
Oscan phonology and morphology	8
Dating inscriptions	10
Oscan or Greek? Defining the corpus	19
2. Vowels	26
Introduction	26
Identifying vowels	27
Lejeune's theory	30
Data and analysis	44
Conclusion	79
3. Consonants	96
Introduction	96
Letter shapes of <h>: dating	96
The spelling of /f/	98
The value and sources of <ζ>	105
Word-internal *-C _i - sequences	112
Nasals before another consonant	129
Final -τ for -δ	133
Conclusion	135
4. Influence from the Oscan alphabet	136
Introduction	136
The Messina inscriptions	137
The use of <πσ> for /ps/ and <κσ> for /ks/	141
Diphthongs ending in <ɸ>	144
Use of <h>	147
Double writing of long vowels	156

Contents

Writing of geminate consonants	159
The use of <vy> for /ng/	164
Conclusion	165
5. Conclusions	167
Orthographic variation and possible explanations	167
Dating of inscriptions on orthographic grounds	175
Phonology	181
Morphology	183
6. Oscan words discussed in this book	184
Introduction	184
Oscan words	186
<i>Bibliography</i>	229
<i>Index of words</i>	244
<i>Index of subjects</i>	259

TABLES

1	Consonants in Oscan	<i>page 9</i>
2	Dates of Oscan inscriptions	13
3	Oscan vowels in the Oscan and Latin alphabets	27
4	Lejeune's model of the orthography of Oscan vowels in the Greek alphabet	34
5	<ι> for /e/	36
6	<ο> for /u/ in a non-final syllable	37
7	<ε> for /e/ from 200	37
8	<ει> for /εi/ from 200	38
9	<ω> for /o/ not next to a labial	38
10	<ουϕ> for /ow/	38
11	<ο> for /o/	39
12	Inscriptions which could belong to alternative scribal schools	41
13	Inscriptions which must belong to Lejeune's system	43
14	Spelling of /e/	45
15	Spelling of /εi/	51
16	Spelling of /o/	54
17	Spelling of *-ā	57
18	Spelling of tautosyllabic /ou/	58
19	Spelling of heterosyllabic /ow/	60
20	Spelling of /o/, all evidence	61
21	Spelling of /u/	64
22	/u/ in initial syllables	70
23	/u/ in non-initial syllables	71
24	/u:/ from *-ō- in initial syllables	72
25	/u/ from *-ō- in non-initial syllables	72
26	Spelling of /u/ from *-u-	75
27	Spelling of Oscan vowels in the Greek alphabet	79
28	o-stem dative singulars	80

List of tables and figure

29	Accusative singulars	81
30	Genitive plurals	82
31	Ablative singulars	83
32	Variation in spelling of /e/	85
33	Variation in spelling of /u/	86
34	Variation in spelling of /o/	87
35	Homography of /e/ and /ɛi/	89
36	Homography of /u/ and /o/	92
37	Examples of <h>	97
38	Instances of /f/	99
39	Instances of <ζ>	105
40	Instances of [z]	109
41	The writing of original * <i>di̇</i> -	111
42	*- <i>Ci̇</i> - sequences	118
43	*- <i>ns</i> - and *- <i>nt</i> - sequences	131
44	Final *- <i>t</i> and *- <i>d</i>	134
45	/ps/ and /ks/	143
46	Spelling of tautosyllabic diphthongs ending in /u/	145
47	Names derived from * <i>marā̇</i> -	149
48	Words in which <h> is present or expected	154
49	Long vowels	157
50	Geminate consonants	159
51	Spelling of Oscan vowels in the Greek alphabet	168
52	New datings of the inscriptions	178

FIGURE

1	Vowels in Oscan	8
---	-----------------	---

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research on this book was supported first by a Research Fellowship at Peterhouse, Cambridge, and subsequently by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, as part of the project 'Greek in Italy: investigating the linguistic effect of the long-term presence of Greek speakers on the native languages of Italy', in the Faculty of Classics, Cambridge University. I could not have written it without the help and encouragement of many people, first and foremost my friends and colleagues in the 'Greek in Italy' project: James Clackson, Geoff Horrocks, Katherine McDonald and Livia Tagliapietra. I am grateful also to Michael Crawford for sharing with me both his views and his unpublished material on Oscan inscriptions. James Clackson, Katherine McDonald and John Penney read earlier drafts of the whole book. I would like to thank them and all the people who have given me advice and comments at conferences and seminars in Cambridge, Oxford, Harvard and the Università di Napoli Federico II, as well as the reviewers for Cambridge Classical Studies, and Michael Sharp, Elizabeth Hanlon, Elizabeth Davey and Malcolm Todd at Cambridge University Press. Remaining faults and mistakes are of course my own.

On my trips to Italy, Prof. Rosanna Sornicola and Prof. Valeria Viparelli were extremely kind hosts for a month in Naples as a Visiting Researcher as part of the project 'Tracciabilità del patrimonio culturale della Campania' at the Università di Napoli Federico II. Prof. Paolo Poccetti has discussed my work at various times and pointed me in the direction of literature I might otherwise have missed. Particular thanks are owed to Prof. Elda Morlicchio and Prof. Mario De Felice for their help in navigating (literally and figuratively) my travels in Campania and Basilicata. It has been a great privilege to be able to examine a number of the inscriptions treated here 'in the flesh', and these autopsies have

Acknowledgements

made a significant difference to the conclusions drawn in this book.

I am grateful to the following, who helped me and other members of the 'Greek in Italy' team find what we were looking for in museums and their deposits, often at considerable effort to themselves: Dottore Antonio De Siena, Soprintendente per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata; Dottoressa Teresa Elena Cinquantaquattro, Soprintendente Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei; Dottoressa Simonetta Bonomi, Soprintendente per i Beni Archeologici della Calabria; Dottore Salvatore Pagliuca, Direttore of the Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Muro Lucano; Dottoressa Antonia Solpietro and Dottoressa Milena Bianco at the Seminario Diocesano in Nola; Dottoressa M. T. Ianelli, Direttrice of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Vibo Valentia, Dottoressa Paola Vivacqua and the staff of the museum; the staff of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli; the staff of the Museo Antica Capua, S. Maria Capua Vetere; the staff of the Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Potenza; the staff of the Museo Provinciale di Potenza; Dottoressa Beatrice Nucera at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Reggio Calabria; Dottoressa Donatella Spagnolo, Dottore Agostino Giuliano and the staff of the Museo Regionale Interdisciplinare di Messina; Dottore Domenico Marino and the staff of the Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Crotone; Dr. Richard Kelleher of the Department of Coins and Medals, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Lastly, I am grateful to Rachele De Felice for her eagle-eyed proofreading and reference-checking, her help in drafting letters in Italian, her willingness to spend many holiday hours looking at inscriptions in museums, and for constant support and encouragement.

CONVENTIONS AND READINGS

This book discusses the phonetics and phonology of the Sabellic language Oscan, and their representation in several different alphabets. The conventions used in the book to represent these aspects are, as far as possible, those used as standard in the fields of historical linguistics and phonology. Quoted forms from ancient languages are given in Roman font when in the Etruscan alphabet, in **bold** when written in an alphabet derived from the Etruscan alphabet (see pp. 1–2), in *italics* when written in the Latin alphabet, and in the Greek alphabet when written in the Greek alphabet (note that the Greek alphabet used to write Oscan had several additional letters compared to the East Ionic alphabet adopted by Athens at the end of the fifth century; see p. 3). In quoted forms I follow the conventions of Crawford *et al.* (2011: 62); in particular, note that [] surround missing letters, < > surround letters supplied by the editors to replace those omitted or engraved in error, and () enclose the expansion of an abbreviation. Crawford *et al.* (2011) themselves are often inconsistent in the use of the angled brackets and brackets. For example, while a missing initial <h> is enclosed in < > in <h>οριου (Crimisa 3/Lu 44), <h>ιπειδ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) and <h>ορτιηις (Vibo 8/tLu 6), it is supplied in () in (h)ερηις (Crimisa 2/Lu 24) and omitted altogether in ορτοριες (Laos 3/Lu 63) and ελ[ɸ]ου (Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47) while these are (rightly) translated as ‘Hortorius’ and ‘Heluus’ respectively. These inconsistencies are unimportant, and have not been corrected in the forms used, for greater ease of comparison with the texts in Crawford *et al.* (2011).

When individual graphemes are being discussed, they are enclosed within < > (graphemes from the Latin alphabet are not italicised when between angled brackets); on the rare occasions when the actual symbol used for the grapheme is being discussed, this is not enclosed within angled brackets. Phonemes and

sequences of phonemes are enclosed within / /, phones within [] (phonetic transcription is as broad as possible). Phonemes and phones are represented according to the conventions of the IPA alphabet, as laid out in the IPA Handbook (International Phonetic Association 1999). Reconstructed forms are preceded by an asterisk * and use the standard orthography of historical linguistic and Indo-Europeanist literature.¹ The reader's attention is drawn to the fact that this leads to certain minor discrepancies between the two conventions, primarily that the labiovelar and palatal approximants (glides) written /w/ and /j/ ([w] and [j]) respectively are written *-*u̯*- and *-*i̯*- in reconstructions; as the second element of tautosyllabic diphthongs, these are written /u/ and /i/ in phonemic representation (e.g. /ai/), but as *-*u̯*- and *-*i̯*- in reconstructions (e.g. *-*ai̯*-). The reader will note that several of these conventions have more than one use (e.g. [] for missing letters in quoted forms, and for representation of phones). Which convention applies should in every case be clear from context.

Forms will be referred to according to first the reference system used by Crawford *et al.* (2011) and second that of Rix (2002), separated by a slash (some inscriptions are only in Crawford *et al.* 2011). Except forms from the Iguvine Tables (IT; taken from Rix 2002), and unless otherwise specified, usually in the discussion of a given word in Chapter 6, all readings of Oscan forms and forms from the other Sabellic languages are taken from Crawford *et al.* (2011). It should be noted that, even though I provide a reference to Rix (2002), some of the readings of Crawford *et al.* are very different from those of Rix. Only where I disagree with the reading of Crawford *et al.* (2011) have forms been changed, e.g. I read <h>ερεστ for Crawford *et al.*'s κερεστ (Buxentum I/Lu 62).

¹ A superscript 'x' indicates a reconstructed form that does not match what we actually find, while an asterisk *following* a reconstructed form indicates an unattested form that can be confidently reconstructed on the basis of the rest of the paradigm.

ABBREVIATIONS

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
C	any consonant
col.	column
conj.	conjunction
dat.	dative
Etr.	Etruscan
f.	feminine
fn.	footnote
fut.	future
gen.	genitive
Gk.	Greek
impv.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
IT	Iguvine Tables (Rix 2002)
l.	line
Lat.	Latin
loc.	locative
Luc.	Lucretius
m.	masculine
Mart.	Martial
Mc.	Marrucinian
n.	neuter
neg.	negative
nom.	nominative
OLat.	Old Latin
Osc.	Oscan
P.	Paelignian
perf.	perfect

List of abbreviations

PIE	Proto-Indo-European
pl.	plural
pres.	present
sg.	singular
subj.	subjunctive
U.	Umbrian
V	any vowel
Vest.	Vestinian
voc.	vocative

INTRODUCTION

Oscan and its alphabets

Oscan was spoken in southern Italy (Campania, Samnium, Lucania, Bruttium, Sicily) in the second half of the first millennium BC and is known from some hundreds of inscriptions in a wide variety of genres (including legal texts, treaties, religious texts, dedications, building inscriptions, curse tablets and graffiti). It is an Indo-European language belonging to the Sabellic family, which includes a number of other languages of ancient Italy, such as Umbrian, South Picene and other, less well attested languages (for an introduction to these languages see Wallace 2007).¹ Sabellic forms one branch of the Italic language family, which also includes Latin and Faliscan. The range of uses for which Oscan was written down is much wider than that of any other Sabellic language, and Oscan is also found written in a greater number of alphabets than other Sabellic languages.

The earliest may be the ‘alphabet of Nocera’ (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 16), found in three inscriptions from the sixth century BC (Surrentum 2/Ps 5, Surrentum 3, Nuceria Alfaterna 3/Ps 4), if these inscriptions are Oscan rather than ‘Pre-Samnite’ (see p. 6). The major part of the attested inscriptions is written in the Oscan alphabet (also known as the ‘native’ or ‘national’ alphabet). This alphabet, used primarily in Campania and Samnium, clearly owes its origin to the Etruscan alphabet, as shown by its letter shapes, by the use of the symbol 8 for <f>, and especially by the early absence of a letter for /o/. However, knowledge of the Greek alphabet is implied by the existence of letters for voiced stops, which were absent from Etruscan (although early abecedaries

¹ Languages such as Paelignian, Marrucinian and Vestinian are sometimes called ‘North Oscan’ languages. I do not consider them to be Oscan, and will not discuss them here. On the difficult question of the sub-grouping of the Sabellic languages see Clackson (2015).

maintained and <d> as dead letters, these were not preserved as late as the fourth century, when the development of the Oscan alphabet probably took place). Etruscan had a four-vowel system, /i/, /e/ (presumably [ɛ]), /a/, /u/,² whereas Oscan had a six-vowel system, /i/, /e/, /ɛ/, /a/, /o/, /u/. Consequently, early inscriptions (in the ‘unreformed’ Oscan alphabet) are characterised by the use of <u> for both the back vowels /o/ and /u/ and of <i> for both /i/ and /e/ (with <e> used for /ɛ/). Around 300 BC, a reform was carried out whereby the letters <ú> and <í> were created by adding a diacritic to <u> and <i>, in order to represent /o/ and /e/ respectively (so that <u> and <í> were restricted to /u/ and /i/ respectively). Apart from occasional mistakes, and an uneven adoption of <ú> and <í> in inscriptions written soon after the reform, this ‘reformed’ alphabet is consistently used over all of Campania and Samnium. Other important orthographic features are the use of double letters to mark long vowels and geminate consonants. This convention seems to have been adopted prior to the reform of 300 BC, although some early inscriptions do not use it, and it remained optional and variable, even within individual inscriptions (Buck 1928: 25–6, 100).

A small number of inscriptions from the fourth century use the Etruscan alphabet itself. A slightly larger number of inscriptions use the Latin alphabet; the majority of these come from the late second or early first century BC.³ Particularly noteworthy for our purposes are those from Lucania and Bruttium, especially the Tabula Bantina (Bantia 1/Lu 1), which is a legal text from Lucania written about the beginning of the first century BC, and is our longest Oscan text (on the Tabula Bantina see Crawford 1996: 271–92). Like the Etruscan alphabet, the Latin alphabet also lacks enough letters for the vowel phonemes of Oscan; although it has both <o> and

² An additional vowel is found at Cortona, represented by the usual symbol for <e> facing opposite to the direction of writing. This symbol comes from various secondary processes, such as monophthongisation of diphthongs and contraction of adjacent vowels (Wallace 2008: 34).

³ There may be a couple of third century cases of Oscan written in the Latin alphabet in the coin legends *aisernim* (Aesernia 1, 263–240) and *ladinod* (Larinum 1/nFr 2a, 250–225). However, the former could be a mistake, while -*od* could still be a Latin ablative singular in the third century (Weiss 2009: 155).

<u> (used respectively for Oscan /o/ and /u/), it has only two signs for front vowels, so that <i> is used for both /i/ and /e/, while <e> is used for /ε/. Unlike the Oscan alphabet, which uses <z> to represent the sequence /ts/, <z> in the Tabula Bantina and in Bantia 2/Lu 38 is used to represent /z/ < *d̥i- (a phoneme possibly absent from Oscan in Campania and Samnium; see pp. 110–12) and [z], the intervocalic allophone of /s/. The Tabula Bantina provides significant evidence for the phonology of Oscan and for possible dialectal variation within Oscan, as discussed throughout this book and in Zair (2014b).

Apart from the inscriptions written in the Latin alphabet, and an even smaller number in the Oscan alphabet, the vast majority of Oscan inscriptions from Lucania and Bruttium are written in the Greek alphabet (there are also a few in the Greek alphabet from Campania). By the time of the fourth century, there was no longer much difference between the different versions of the Greek alphabet which had existed previously (on which see Jeffery and Johnston 1990). The alphabet used to write Oscan is based on the East Ionic alphabet, which included the following letters: <α>, <β>, <γ>, <δ>, <ε>, <ζ>, <η>, <θ>, <ι>, <κ>, <λ>, <μ>, <ν>, <ξ>, <ο>, <π>, <ρ>, <σ>, <τ>, <υ>, <φ>, <χ>, <ψ> and <ω>. As we shall see, there are some differences in the way that these letters were used to write Oscan compared to the writing of Greek. In particular, <β>, <θ> and perhaps <φ> are all used on occasion for writing the Oscan phoneme /f/, which Greek did not possess, although the most common letter used is <f>, a local addition to the Greek alphabet (on the spelling of /f/ see pp. 98–105). Other letters were also used for Oscan phonemes which were not present in Ionic Greek, this time taken from other Greek alphabetic traditions found in ancient Italy. Thus we find <ϕ> /w/ and <h> /h/. This last grapheme has two different symbols, H and F; H is also the symbol for <η>, and only context allows us to tell whether H is being used as <h> with the value /h/ or <η> with the value /ε/ (on the symbols and use of /h/ see pp. 96–8 and pp. 147–56 respectively).

At base, this book deals with one – apparently simple – question: ‘How was Oscan spelt when written in the Greek alphabet?’ Answering this question is a worthwhile aim in itself: the understanding of Oscan inscriptions rests on identifying the meaning

of individual words and on recognising nominal and verbal morphology. Apart from contextual evidence, the main ways of doing this are by connecting words and endings to other words and endings in other, better understood inscriptions, and by means of the comparative method, which allows us to reconstruct proto-forms and find cognates in the Italic languages or other Indo-European languages. Both of these approaches are seriously hampered, and may lead to mistaken interpretations, if we do not understand what sounds the letters used to spell them represent. For example, proposals for understanding currently obscure inscriptions such as Anxia 1/Lu 39 will fail if they do not take into account the fact that the last two letters of the word πολλοῶν in this word represent /om/ rather than /um/, and hence that the word is most probably an accusative singular of an *o*-stem or consonant-stem noun or the infinitive of a verb, and cannot be the genitive plural of an *o*-stem (as shown on pp. 80–3). So, the spelling of Oscan in the Greek alphabet is a topic which is intrinsically important to the study of Oscan.

It turns out that the answers to this question also have important repercussions for other aspects of the study of Oscan both as a linguistic and a historical phenomenon. Studying the spelling of the inscriptions reveals new information about Oscan phonology or confirms possibilities raised by the evidence in other alphabets. It suggests the existence of dialectal differences between Oscan spoken in different areas. It tells us more about Oscan morphology, and in one case it provides evidence to answer a long-standing question about Proto-Italic nominal morphology (the *o*-stem genitive plural comes from **-ōm*, not **-om*; see p. 82). But it also tells us important historical information about the type of society in which Oscan speakers in the south lived: unlike for Oscan-speakers in Samnium and Campania, there was apparently no widespread and standardised system of orthography. If there were any such systems, agreed standards must have applied only over small areas, and often we get the impression that individual writers decided on the spur of the moment how to spell a given sound, without even being interested in internal consistency. It may be that this failure to develop a standard has to do with the position of Greek as the prestige written language, in a world in

which many, if not most, writers of Oscan were also bilingual in Greek. At the same time, there are signs that at least some writers were aware of the Oscan alphabet, and occasionally adopted its orthographic features into their usage of the Greek alphabet. Lastly, understanding the way the Greek alphabet was used is critical to the dating of the Oscan inscriptions written in it: as is discussed below (pp. 10–12), orthography has frequently been used as a criterion for dating the inscriptions in the absence of other evidence, an approach which has, I will argue, been misapplied.

In pursuing the questions and approaches outlined here, [Chapter 2](#) is dedicated to investigating and describing the spelling of Oscan vowels in the Greek alphabet, and [Chapter 3](#) to the spelling of consonants. [Chapter 4](#) discusses possible instances where spelling in the Greek alphabet has been influenced by the conventions of the Oscan alphabet. [Chapter 5](#) summarises the results of this work, and considers them from the point of view of what variation in spelling suggests about the social situation in southern Italy, dating of inscriptions, and the phonology and morphology of Oscan.

[Chapter 6](#) provides a lexicon of all Oscan words in the Greek alphabet used as evidence, with discussion of their phonology and origin. Since Untermann's (2000) otherwise excellent *Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen* does not consistently address Oscan forms attested in the Greek-alphabet inscriptions, and much of the evidence discussed here consists of personal names, which are not considered at all by Untermann, I hope that this chapter will provide a useful supplement to that book.

The linguistic situation of south Italy

The earliest linguistic evidence available from southern Italy comes in the form of inscriptions left by Greek-speakers, starting in the eighth century with the foundation of cities at Pithecussae (modern-day Ischia) and Cumae by colonists from Euboea. Subsequently, further cities were founded in Sicily and along the coast of southern Italy (Magna Graecia), stretching from Cumae to Taras/Tarentum (Taranto), and including Posidonia/Paestum, Elea/Velia, Rhegium (Reggio Calabria), Locri Epizephyrii, Sybaris, Heraclea and Metapontum (Graham 1982a: 94–113, 1982b). Colonists came

from many cities in Greece, and the dialects primarily represented in Italy at this time were Ionic, Doric and North-West Greek. Although originally colonies spoke the dialects of their mother cities, in the cities of the south Ionic was largely abandoned, except in Velia and around the Bay of Naples. The end of the fourth century, with the beginning of the Hellenistic period, saw the spread of the koine, largely based on Attic-Ionic, across the Greek-speaking world (Horrocks 2010: 79–123), including in southern Italy, although Doric and North-West Greek features are still found in inscriptions into the early centuries AD (Bartoněk 1975; Consani 1996). As a result of these developments, it is likely that Oscan-speakers were in contact with several different varieties of Greek, depending on time and place; it is quite possible that a given speaker may have been aware of more than one dialect of Greek.

Tribes later known to have spoken Oscan are mentioned in historical sources referring to the fifth century onwards, and were in control of much of the south by the beginning of the fourth century (Purcell 1994). Sabellic languages are attested in south Italy from the sixth/fifth centuries in the form of eight inscriptions from Campania and a pair of inscriptions in Lucania (Nerulum 1/Ps 1, Blanda 1/Ps 20); whether the former are in the same language as the (clearly non-Oscan) latter, or are in fact the earliest known Oscan, is presently unclear (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 16–17, 448; Clackson 2015: 26–7). At any rate, Oscan inscriptions dating from the fourth century onwards are found in Campania, Samnium, Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily. Despite the increasing power of Oscan-speaking groups in Lucania and Bruttium from the fourth century, including conquest of some Greek cities, this did not mean either the destruction of Greek culture or a conclusive switch away from Greek. We have ample evidence for the continuation of the use of Greek in Magna Graecia in the last few centuries of the first millennium, for contact between Greek- and Oscan-speakers, and bilingualism (on the latter two aspects, see McDonald 2015). Oscan inscriptions are extremely rare, if not non-existent, after the first half of the first century BC, such that it seems likely that Oscan was dying out at this time, at least as an

epigraphic language (see McDonald 2012: 51–4 on the possibility of Oscan surviving in Pompeii in the first century AD).

The fourth century was also the beginning of the spread of Roman power throughout Italy, with fighting between Rome and Samnites, Campanians and other Oscan-speaking groups beginning with the first Samnite war of 343 BC, followed by the planting of Roman colonies in conquered areas. By the mid third century, Rome had control of Lucania and Bruttium, including a colony at Paestum (Cornell 1990). Along with Roman influence came Latin, the official language of the colonies, as the result of Roman cultural and economic power. The details of the adoption of Latin by speakers of Oscan from the fourth century onwards are not clear, with only isolated pieces of evidence here and there: for example, the third-century legal text from Luceria in Apulia (CIL 1².401) provides evidence for the learning of Latin as a second language by an Oscan speaker (Wallace 1988), while in 180 BC the city of Cumae is reported by Livy to have asked Rome for permission to carry out official business in Latin (Livy 40.43.1; for this and other evidence see Adams 2003: 112–59). Most examples are from Samnium and Campania rather than from Lucania and Bruttium, which are the areas focussed on in this book. However, knowledge of Latin and its alphabet by Oscan speakers is clear from Bantia in the late second/early first century, and there are Oscan (-influenced) inscriptions in the Latin alphabet from elsewhere in Lucania in the second century (Lucania 2, Numistro 2). It seems reasonable to assume a certain level of Oscan–Latin bilingualism from at least the second century onwards in Lucania and Bruttium.

The remaining language found in the south of Italy in the first millennium BC was Messapic, which was an Indo-European (but not Italic) language spoken in the Salentine Peninsula in modern-day Puglia, with inscriptions dating from the sixth to the first century. The language was written in the Greek alphabet. There is practically no evidence for contact between speakers of Oscan and Messapic, but some contact seems plausible on geographic grounds (for inconclusive discussion of the possibility that Ennius spoke Messapic and Oscan see Adams 2003: 117).

Oscan phonology and morphology

A brief sketch of the phonology of Oscan assumed is given here, and is particularly important for understanding the phonological forms of the words listed in [Chapter 6](#). Oscan had the phonemes shown in [Table 1](#) (consonants) and [Figure 1](#) (vowels) (see Wallace 2007: 11–13).

Inherited long vowels were shortened in non-initial syllables; the only certain examples of long vowels in non-initial syllables arose through borrowing or univerbation; it is also possible that compensatory lengthening processes caused long vowels, but there is no direct evidence of this. Oscan had long, i.e. geminate,

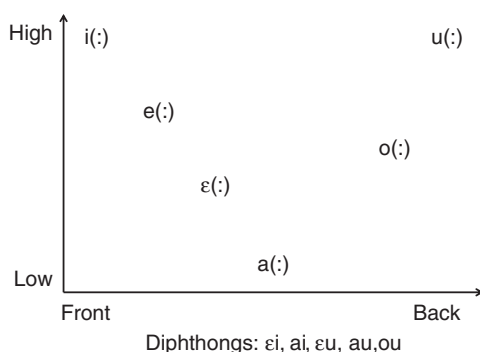


Figure 1: Vowels in Oscan

Note: It is possible that there was also a vowel /y(:)/, which would have come from *-ū-. Meiser (1986: 53) posits such a value to explain the apparent variation in the spelling of *-ū- between <u> in **fruktatiuf** (Abella 1 A.21/Cm 1) ‘produce’ < *b^hrūg- and <i, i> in *castrid* (Bantia 1.8/Lu 1) ‘head (abl. sg.)’ < *kastrūd, **tiium** (Capua 34/Cp 37), **tiú(m)** (Saepinum 2/Sa 31) ‘you’ < *tū-om. However, other scholars have not taken this evidence as proof of the existence of /y(:)/. Buck (1928: 41) suggests that *-ū- became *-ī- in final syllables only (we would then have to take **tiium** as analogical on *tī < *tū, or explain it in another fashion), while Seidl (1994: 349–51) argues that *-ū- normally gave *-ī- everywhere, but was prevented in **fruktatiuf** by the labiality of /f/ at the beginning of the syllable. The <u> in **fruktatiuf** could also be explained as reflecting /u/ < *-ū- < *-ū- due to shortening by Dybo’s rule (on which see Zair 2012a: 132–50), although if so it is surprising that Latin *fructus* ‘having been enjoyed’ was not affected (perhaps length was restored by analogy with *fructus* ‘produce’, *frūx* ‘crop’?). At least in the south, Oscan did have [y], but this was an allophone of /u/ (see pp. 74–9 and Zair 2014b).

Table 1: *Consonants in Oscan*

	Labial		Dental		Palatal ^a		Velar		Glottal	
	voiceless	voiced	voiceless	voiced	voiceless	voiced	voiceless	voiced	voiceless	voiced
Plosive	p	b	t	d			k	g		
Fricative	f	[v] ^b	s	[z] ^b					h	
Nasal		m		n						
Lateral				l						
Rhotic				r						
Glide						j		w		

Note:

^a It will be concluded that Oscan had palatalised dental and velar consonants; it is not clear whether these were phonemic or merely allophones before /j/ (see pp. 112–25 and pp. 184–5).

^b Letters in square brackets represent voiced allophones

consonants. It probably had a phonemic difference between /i/ and /j/. This is most clearly seen in the name system (see pp. 117–20). The prehistory of these phonemes will be discussed as relevant in the text. For general information about the historical phonology of Oscan, see Buck (1928), which is, however, outdated in some respects (notably the vowel system, on which see Lejeune 1975 and Seidl 1994).

Information on the nominal and verbal endings of Oscan can be found in Buck (1928), Wallace (2007), Tikkanen (2011: 25–48). Note particularly the discussion of, and conclusions about, *o*- and consonant-stem noun endings in Chapter 2, pp. 80–3.

Dating inscriptions

As will be seen throughout this book, the dating of the Oscan inscriptions in the Greek alphabet is a key factor in understanding the orthography of the inscriptions. Previous scholars have used datings to argue for chronological changes in the orthography, and have also used apparent chronological developments in the orthography to date inscriptions; the resultant risk of circularity has not always been avoided, as can be seen in Chapters 2 and 3. Consequently, analysis of the orthography can have important implications for dating. I will outline in this section the basis for the datings of the inscriptions discussed in this book.

The starting point is the set of criteria for dating the inscriptions of Rossano di Vaglio and surrounding sites established by Lejeune (Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971: 78–80, restated at Lejeune 1990: 26–35). These are (1) archaeological context, (2) indications from the language, (3) letter shapes and (4) orthography. Where the dating of an inscription, as given by Crawford *et al.* (2011), is established on the basis of (1), I will accept this without further comment. With particular reference to the inscriptions from around Rossano di Vaglio (which make up the majority of the Potentia inscriptions in Crawford *et al.* 2011), Lejeune considered that only a small number of inscriptions could be dated archaeologically, and Crawford *et al.* (2011: 51–4) show that even these datings are unreliable. Crawford *et al.* divide the inscriptions from

Rossano into two types: private dedications, whose stones may have been re-used on the re-dedication of the site *c.* 200 BC; and public dedications by magistrates after *c.* 200 BC, whose stones remained *in situ*. With regard to (2), in very few inscriptions (notably Potentia 24/Lu 30) does the language provide evidence for a firm dating.

As for (3), letter shapes, Lejeune (Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971: 48–52; Lejeune 1990: 30–32) proposed a relative chronology of the development of the signs for <f>, <α>, <β>, <η>, <μ>, <ν>, <π>, <ρ> and four-barred <σ> by which the inscriptions could be dated relative to one another. Even Lejeune himself observed that only the use of the younger forms was a useful dating criterion, since older forms continued to be used even after the newer forms had come into existence. However, as Crawford *et al.* (2011: 55) have rightly stressed, none of these forms are reliable as a dating mechanism, because some probably reflect individual rather than chronological variation, and because graphic variation may have been used for purposes of emphasis, such as for marking out divine names, the names of those being cursed etc. (Pocetti 1993a: 218–20; for the difficulty of dating different shapes of <f> see McDonald 2015: 71–9).⁴ Lejeune (1990: 31) dates the use of lunate sigma and epsilon to about 200 BC; the dating of these is not directly addressed by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 55), although they note that ‘late texts may still choose to use non-lunate and non-cursive forms’, which implies that they think of the lunate forms as a ‘late’ feature. However, lunate sigma at least was available (in private documents) for writing Greek from the fifth century BC (McLean 2002: 41), and is found in Greek inscriptions from south Italy datable to 350–340 BC (Bottini and Greco 1974–1975: 250–57 no. 14); the fourth century BC (D’Amore 2007: 43–4, no. 17); first half of the third century (Vecchio 2003: 106–8, no. 31); and third century (Del Monaco

⁴ It is not clear from the comments of Crawford *et al.* (2011: 55) whether they consider the S-shape of <f> to be early and only early, or whether they include it along with other shapes of <f> as undatable. The dating of Cosilinum 1/Lu 3 to *c.* 300 BC on the basis of the S-shape seems to imply that they consider it an acceptable dating criterion. But this is clearly false, since S is attested in much later inscriptions such as Potentia 9/Lu 6 and Potentia 10/Lu 7 and Potentia 1/Lu 5 (see the table at McDonald 2015: 75–6).

2013: 135, no. 83). Within the Oscan corpus, it is attested in Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47, which Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1461) date from 350–300 BC.⁵ Consequently, the presence of lunate sigma does not seem to be a strong dating criterion; lunate <ε> does not seem to appear before the date assigned by Lejeune, but the only inscription discussed in this book for which lunate <ε> is a crucial dating criterion is Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 2.⁶ Two criteria regarding letter shapes which are accepted as methods of dating by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 55) are the use of F for <h> (considered to be ‘later’) and the use of <β> for /f/ (dated by Crawford *et al.* to not before 150 BC). As will be seen (Chapter 3), neither of these criteria is a reliable method of dating the inscriptions.

The primary purpose of this book is to examine Lejeune’s fourth criterion, the orthography of the Greek alphabet inscriptions, partly in order to see if claims regarding the chronological development of the orthographic conventions used are in fact reliable. This being the case, it would obviously be completely circular to use the datings established only through these claimed orthographic developments (mostly based on the work of Lejeune 1970, 1972a) when examining the orthography itself. However, that at least some of these diachronic changes exist and are a valid way to date the inscriptions is accepted by most scholars (for example, Lazzeroni 1983, Del Tutto Palma 1989, Wallace 2007: 7, Crawford *et al.* 2011: 55; with some differences Poccetti 1988: 141–58). My argument will be that there are very few clear instances of purely diachronic variation, and that consequently we cannot use orthography as a useful tool in dating the inscriptions. But this claim relies upon the evidence put forward in Chapters 2 and 3, so it does not seem appropriate to discard the datings attributed to inscriptions only on these orthographic

⁵ Although the inscription was found on the surface, so archaeological support for this date is lacking. It is dated by comparison with the curse tablet Buxentum 3/Lu 45, and on the basis of the letter shapes by Poccetti (1993a: 214): as often with the dating of these inscriptions, the possibility of circularity is clear here.

⁶ An interesting comparandum is the use of lunate letters in Gaulish inscriptions written in the Greek alphabet, the majority of which are dated from between the second and first centuries BC, and whose use of lunate forms cannot be seen to have any chronological relevance (Mullen 2013: 103–6). Mullen suggests that the Greek script used to write Gaulish may have been originally based on hand-written Greek, in which lunate forms were common much earlier than in official lapidary contexts.

Dating inscriptions

grounds before the necessary argumentation has been made. In [Chapters 2, 3 and 4](#) I will therefore keep the datings of Crawford *et al.* (2011), but will follow datings which I consider to be unreliable with a dagger (†), and these dates will be ignored in the discussion. In addition to discussion at the appropriate point in the text, the eventual revised datings are collected on pp. 175–81.

The datings given by Crawford *et al.* (2011) for all inscriptions discussed in this book are given in [Table 2](#). For the inscriptions from Rossano di Vaglio, since Lejeune’s dating of the inscriptions has been so influential, I also include Lejeune’s catalogue number

Table 2: *Dates of Oscan inscriptions*

Inscription	Lejeune’s reference	Lejeune’s dating	Crawford <i>et al.</i> ’s dating
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1/Lu 26			After c. 200† ^a
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 2			c. 200–100
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 3/Lu 18			c. 375–350
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 4			c. 75
Lucania 1/Lu 19			c. 350
Lucani 1/nLu 1			207–204
Paestum 1/Lu 14			c. 300
Paestum 2			c. 300
Paestum 3/Lu 42			370–360
Buxentum 1/Lu 62			c. 300–200
Buxentum 3/Lu 45			400–300 ^b
Laos 2/Lu 46			c. 330–320
Laos 3/Lu 63			c. 300
Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2			c. 150
Cosilinum 1/Lu 3			c. 300† ^c
Cosilinum 2/Lu 40			c. 100

Introduction

Table 2: (*cont.*)

Inscription	Lejeune's reference	Lejeune's dating	Crawford <i>et al.</i> 's dating
Tegianum 1/Lu 41			100–90
Numistro 1/Lu 4			300–275
Numistro 2			c. 200–100
Potentia 1/Lu 5	RV-28	125–100	125–100 ^d
Potentia 2/Lu 12	RV-30	200–100	200–100
Potentia 3/Lu 8	RV-01	200–100	200–100
Potentia 4/Lu 10	RV-02	300–200	200–100
Potentia 5/Lu 11	RV-03	200–100	200–100
Potentia 6/Lu 9	RV-04	300–200	Either side 200
Potentia 8/Lu 9	RV-07	300–200	Either side 200
Potentia 9/Lu 6	RV-17	200–175	200–175
Potentia 10/Lu 7	RV-18	200–175	200–175
Potentia 11/Lu 35	RV-19	200–100	Either side 200
Potentia 12/Lu 27	RV-56		300–200
Potentia 13/Lu 16	RV-44 + RV-50	350–300	325–275 ^e
Potentia 14/Lu 34	RV-21	125–100	125–100 ^f
Potentia 15/ Lu 33	RV-26	300–200	300–200
Potentia 16/Lu 32	RV-06	125–100	Either side 200
Potentia 17/Lu 15	RV-11	300–275	300–200
Potentia 18			225–200 ^g
Potentia 19/Lu 36	RV-33	350–300	325–275 ^h
Potentia 20/Lu 28	RV-35	350–300	325–275 ⁱ
Potentia 21/Lu 29	RV-52	325–300	250–200 ^j
Potentia 22/Lu 31	RV-05	125–100	Either side 200
Potentia 23/Lu 64	RV-58		125–100 ^k
Potentia 24/Lu 30	RV-12	350–325	325–275
Potentia 25/Lu 21	RV-20	125–100	Either side 200
Potentia 26/Lu 20	RV-34	300–200	325–100 ^l
Potentia 27/Lu 60	RV-49	350–300	300–200

Dating inscriptions

Table 2: (*cont.*)

Inscription	Lejeune's reference	Lejeune's dating	Crawford <i>et al.</i> 's dating
Potentia 28/Lu 22	RV-27	300–200	300–200
Potentia 30/Lu 57	RV-51	300–200	300–200
Potentia 31/Lu 59	RV-25	300–200	300–200
Potentia 32/Lu 17	RV-57		300–200
Potentia 36			No date
Potentia 37			No date
Potentia 40/Lu 13			250–200
Potentia 44/tLu 1			<i>c.</i> 225
Anxia 1/Lu 39			<i>c.</i> 300–250
Metapontum 1/Lu 37			<i>c.</i> 400–375
Metapontum 2			<i>c.</i> 300
Heraclea 2/Lu 61			Before <i>c.</i> 275
Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47			350–300
Breig 1			<i>c.</i> 250–200 (?)
Crimisa 1/Lu 23			300–200
Crimisa 2/Lu 24			300–200
Crimisa 3/Lu 44			<i>c.</i> 300–250
Petelia 2			<i>c.</i> 300
Teuranus Ager 1/ Lu 43			Presumably before <i>c.</i> 200
Caulonia 2			<i>c.</i> 325–300
Vibo 2/Lu 25			<i>c.</i> 300† ^m
Vibo 3/tLu 9			Presumably before <i>c.</i> 200
Vibo 5/tLu 3–5			Presumably before <i>c.</i> 200
Vibo 6/tLu 8			Presumably before <i>c.</i> 200
Vibo 7/tLu 7			<i>c.</i> 300–275† ⁿ
Vibo 8/tLu 6			Presumably before <i>c.</i> 200

Introduction

Table 2: (cont.)

Inscription	Lejeune's reference	Lejeune's dating	Crawford <i>et al.</i> 's dating
Vibo 9			Presumably before c. 200
Tauriani 1/tLu 13			c. 100
Tauriani 2			c. 200–100
Messana 1/nMe 1a–b			c. 225
Messana 2/tMe 1			Perhaps before c. 200
Messana 4/Me 1 & 3			c. 250
Messana 5/Me 2			c. 250
Messana 6/Me 4			c. 275
Messana 7/Me 5			c. 250
Messana 8/tMe 2			Perhaps before c. 200

Notes:

^a Dated on the basis of the use of F for <h>; see pp. 96–8.

^b Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1334) simply say '[s]ee below', with no date given anywhere. The correct date is 400–300 (Gualtieri and Poccetti 1990: 143).

^c Dated on the basis of S for <f> (see p. 11, fn. 4). The comment 'with which use of δi- would be compatible' (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1355) is misleading: it is meant to justify the reconstruction <δi> rather than be a dating criterion.

^d Dated by Lejeune (1971: 672, 678–9), on the basis of <β> for /f/ (see pp. 100–2), <ζ> for /s/ (see p. 109), and the supposed development of *-st- to [ss] in *kenstōritāteĭ > *kentsturitāteĭ (epenthesis) > *kentsuritāteĭ (dissimilation) > κενσορτατη and in *kom-sta-ēnt > *kontstent > *kontsent > κωσ(τ)ιτ. But κενσορτατη could be due to a dissimilation or haplography of κενστορτατη, or be a mistake for κενστορατη (Marchese 1974: 414–15). The absence of <τ> in κωσ(τ)ιτ could also be a mistake. If not, it is not clear that it is a late feature. It is true that the only other possible instance of loss of *-t- in the sequence *-nst- is the early first century Tabula Bantina (e.g. censaum, Bantia 1.20/Lu 1, 'to take a census'), but lack of <τ> here is likely to be due to influence from Latin. However, we also find missing <τ> in a sequence of a dental followed by *-s- followed by *-t- in μετσεδ (Potentia 40/Lu 13), which is derived by Lejeune (1970: 310) from *medsted < *medestēd. If the two losses of *-t- are part of the same rule, this must have been earlier than Lejeune supposes, since Potentia 40/Lu 13 is dated to 250–200 BC.

^e Dated on the basis of <εi> rather than <ηi>. See pp. 50–3. The reference to the form of the <α> by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1384) I take to be alluding to the possibility rather than the necessity of an <α> with broken crossbar being early,

Dating inscriptions

- given the statement ‘we . . . have not attributed much significance to different forms of alpha’ (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 55), and the dating of inscriptions containing broken-barred <α> to the second century in Potentia 14/Lu 34, Potentia 18, Potentia 23/Lu 64.
- ^f ‘[T]he letter forms could in our view be earlier, but f = β supports a late date’ (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1386). For <β> for /f/ see pp. 100–2.
- ^g Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1393) date this inscription to 200–100 on the basis that ‘use of interpuncts is a late phenomenon’ (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 55). But the stone is re-used, so ought to be dated to before c. 200 (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 53–4). The other inscriptions from Rossano di Vaglio which contain interpuncts are Potentia 1/Lu 5, Potentia 3/Lu 8, Potentia 4/Lu 10, Potentia 9/Lu 6, Potentia 10/Lu 7, Potentia 22/Lu 31 and Potentia 37 (see p. 177 for the revised dating of Potentia 1/Lu 5). Of these, the first five all belong after c. 200, while Potentia 37 is undated; but Potentia 22/Lu 31 is ‘either side of 200’. I would prefer to follow the dating on the basis of the archeological evidence, and assume that the use of interpuncts could have begun somewhat before 200. I would therefore date Potentia 18 to c. 225–200.
- ^h Dated on the basis of <εi> for /ei/; see pp. 50–3.
- ⁱ Dated on the basis of <θ> for /f/; see p. 100.
- ^j ‘F for h is late, and we see the form of the μ, and small o as late’ (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1397). On F for <h> see pp. 96–8. The dating on the basis of the other letter forms is accepted, with some misgivings (note the lack of significance attributed to the shape of <μ> at Crawford *et al.* 2011: 55).
- ^k This dating, by Poccetti (Nava and Poccetti 2001: 100–105) is based partly on orthographic features involving the spelling of back vowels, which are not reliable (on which see Chapter 2), and partly on epigraphical features, including lunate sigma (on which see pp. 11–12). However, on the grounds of the other epigraphical features, this dating is accepted, with some reservations (it could perhaps be somewhat earlier).
- ^l Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1406) accept Lejeune’s (1972d: 407) dating, but this is based only on the use of ‘early’ shapes of <π> and <ε> and therefore, as discussed above, does not prevent a later dating, since these continued to be used alongside ‘late’ forms. Consequently, this inscription could come from any point in the life-time of the sanctuary at Rossano di Vaglio.
- ^m Dated on the basis of <ουφ> for /ow/ and <εi> for /ei/ (see Chapter 2).
- ⁿ Dated on the basis of <εi> for /ei/ (see pp. 50–3).

and dating (from Lejeune 1990: 25–32). For the Rossano inscriptions, where no criteria falling under (2), (3) or (4) are used, it will be seen that Crawford *et al.*’s assessment of the archaeological situation allows for a date before 200 BC (if the stone was re-used and/or reflects a private dedication), or after 200 BC (if the stone was not re-used and reflects a public dedication). In some cases, inscriptions are dated on the basis of letter forms, which results in a dating ‘either side of 200 BC’ (e.g. Potentia 16/Lu 32,

Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1390).⁷ Usually, though not always (e.g. Potentia 11/Lu 35, Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1380), dating by letter forms is used where information about re-use or type of dedication is not available. The dating of Crawford *et al.* is corrected in a few cases where it seems to be mistaken according to their own criteria (explanations for the change of dating are given in a footnote for each case). Inscriptions are given here in the same order as in Crawford *et al.* All dates here and throughout are BC, unless AD is specified.

In the rest of the book, within tables of data the order of inscriptions is by last date of the range. For inscriptions with the same last date, the inscription with the higher first date is given first. Inscriptions with the same date (-range) are given in alphabetical and then numerical order by the name given to them in Crawford *et al.* (2011). Inscriptions dated as ‘Either side 200’ are treated as though having a date range 225–175 BC and hence go after inscriptions with a date range ending at 200 BC. Inscriptions given as e.g. ‘Presumably before 200’ are treated as having a date range ending in 200 BC; they are listed before inscriptions dated to 200 BC, but after inscriptions with a fixed start to the date range (e.g. after inscriptions with a date range of 250–200 BC). Hedges such as ‘presumably’ and ‘c.’ are ignored. As can be readily seen by looking at the tables in subsequent chapters, these – to some extent arbitrary – decisions can make a big difference to the way in which the data is laid out (for example the order of inscriptions would sometimes change drastically if done by first rather than last date of a range). Consequently, it is important that conclusions about the relative chronology of the features discussed in the forthcoming chapters are not simply based on the apparent patterns directly visible in the tables. The uncertainty in chronology resulting from the sometimes very wide dating range of individual inscriptions must be taken into account.

⁷ Given Crawford *et al.*’s rejection of the forms of most letters as a way of dating the inscriptions, and the fact that many of the inscriptions dated on the basis of letter forms do not include sigmas or epsilons, it is not clear what Crawford *et al.*’s criteria actually are, even for the rough dating ‘either side of 200 BC’. However, these datings will be accepted here except where otherwise stated.

Oscan or Greek? Defining the corpus

The present discussion aims to consider the orthography of Oscan inscriptions written in the Greek alphabet. It does not include inscriptions in the Greek language, even when these are found in the same archaeological context as inscriptions in Oscan, or when inscriptions include names which are clearly etymologically Oscan. In most cases, it is obvious whether an inscription is written in Greek rather than Oscan on the basis of the presence of Greek rather than Oscan lexicon, morphology and syntax; in less clear-cut cases, the primary criterion used to judge is whether the inscription uses Greek or Oscan morphology. Thus, for example, Potentia 39, which reads $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \nu\upsilon\mu\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$ ‘in the magistracy of Nummelos’, although it contains a name of Oscan origin, is a Greek inscription: apart from the name, all other lexemes are Greek, and Greek syntax and morphology are used throughout. In the case of Brettii I, whose legend is $\beta\rho\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\omega\nu$, we have only an Oscan name, but the ending is the Greek genitive plural, so the inscription is considered to be Greek. In the case of Messana 1/nMe 1a–b, part of the coinage has the legend $\mu\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\tau\iota\nu\omega\nu$ (Greek genitive plural), and part $\mu\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\tau\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon\mu$ (Oscan genitive plural); here the former is considered to be Greek, the latter Oscan.

In some cases, an object can be said to contain two inscriptions, one in Greek and one in Oscan. Thus, for example, in Crimisa 1/Lu 23, the text $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \iota\epsilon\rho(\epsilon\omega\varsigma)$ ‘in the priesthood’, upside down relative to the preceding text, seems to be the Greek equivalent of Oscan $\sigma\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\iota\delta\iota\mu\alpha\iota$, the first word of the preceding text. In this inscription, $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \iota\epsilon\rho(\epsilon\omega\varsigma)$, which consists only of Greek lexemes, will be treated as being Greek, while the rest of the text, which contains only Oscan lexemes and morphology, will be treated as being Oscan. A similar case is Buxentum 3/Lu 45, where part of the first line (and possibly the beginning of the second line) is written in Greek, while following lines consist of names with Oscan morphology. In this case, only the list of names is considered to be written in Oscan. Note that this analysis is supported by the apparently unrelated nature of the texts (the readable part of the Greek text means ‘two medimnoi are sold’, while the Oscan part is

a list of names, presumably as part of a curse), and by the physical layout of the texts (the Greek text begins at the left of the tablet, while the Oscan text forms a column to the right).

Crimisa 1/Lu 23 may be considered an example of what Adams (2003: 30–40) calls ‘bilingual texts’ (‘biversion bilingual texts’ in the typology of Mullen 2012: 15–21, 2013: 83–5): ‘[b]ilingual texts on my definition are texts written in two languages in which the two versions are physically discrete and have content which is usually, at least in part, common to both ... [S]ome sort of juxtaposition of two separate versions is the norm, and there is an element of repetition, partial or complete, in the content of the versions’ (Adams 2003: 30).⁸ There are other kinds of texts in which it is more difficult to identify the text as belonging to one language or another. These are called ‘mixed-language texts’ by Adams (2003: 67–70): ‘[m]ixed-language documents do not have parallel versions in different languages of the same or similar material, but embody changes of language within one and the same text’ (Adams 2003: 67). Mullen (2012: 15–21, 2013: 83–5) distinguishes between ‘texts displaying bilingual phenomena’ (‘composed in language A, but showing interference/code-switching/borrowing from language B’; Mullen 2012: 16, 2013: 84) and ‘mixed-language texts’, which include ‘codes that are so mixed that it is impossible to identify the dominant language’ (Mullen 2012: 16, 2013: 84). Two cases of ‘texts displaying bilingual phenomena’/‘mixed-language texts’ which appear in our corpus require discussion here.

Petelia 2 is a lead curse tablet, with a text in four columns. The first three columns, and part of the fourth, consist of a list of names with Oscan morphology.⁹ One or two names in the fourth column

⁸ Although in this sort of inscription both texts are normally meant to be readable, if not necessarily read, whereas the fact that $\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\ \iota\epsilon\rho(\epsilon\omega\varsigma)$ is upside down suggests that there must be another explanation for the existence of both texts on this stone.

⁹ All the names in this inscription are listed in pairs. The pairs ending in $-o$ and $-\omega$ are taken by Lazzarini (2004, 2009; followed by Murano 2013: 192; Poccetti 2014: 91–4) to consist of male names in the genitive, with the Doric Greek genitive ending $-\omega$. This interpretation, however, seems much less likely than that of Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1475–7), which translates all of these as female names consisting of a praenomen and gentilicium, observing ‘[t]he last two lines are Greek, but we do not think that o/ω in the rest of the text can be taken as Greek genitives’. Crawford *et al.* do not expand further, but the major disadvantage to taking the names in $-o/\omega$ as genitives is that, as

(παφελιος, perhaps ουσος if this is a name) may have Greek nominative singulars in -ος, although these could also be Oscan nominative or accusative plurals.¹⁰ The third-from-last line of the fourth column has part of a sentence in Oscan: ΠΙΣΠΙΤ Ι(ΝΙ)Μ ΣΟΛΛΟΜ ΗΙΣΟΥ(Μ) ‘whoever also is of all of them’; the last two lines, in Greek, complete the sentence: δεκεο ηερμα χθωνιε ταυτα και καθεκε αυτει ‘receive, Hermes of the Underworld, these things also keep here’. This is an example of code-switching, and it is fairly easy to distinguish between the Greek used in the last two lines of the inscription, and the Oscan used elsewhere; more problematic is the status of the name παφελιος (and perhaps ουσος). The use of Greek morphology for these words could be seen as a marker of the linguistic identity of the bearers of the name, who were presumably usually called (whether by personal preference or for another reason) by a ‘Greek’ version of the name, rather than an ‘Oscan’ version;¹¹ personally, I think that these words are more likely to be Oscan nominative plurals, but, as with διριος (Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2), a Greek nominative singular cannot be completely ruled out. Consequently, neither παφελιος nor ουσος is considered as evidence in this book.

Laos 2/Lu 46, also a lead curse tablet, consists entirely of a list of Oscan names in the accusative, some followed by the title μεδεκον or μεδεκων ‘magistrate’. This inscription has been taken by some scholars (Campanile 1992b: 372–3; Pugliese Carratelli 1992: 17–18; Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1345) to be written in, or show

observed by Lazzarini (2009: 428), it is not usual to find names in the genitive in curse tablets (and it is particularly strange to find a random mix of genitive and nominative). Note that the apparent instance of a third declension gen. sg. in -ος in Lazzarini’s reading of col. 3 l.3 as μινακος καφιριω is removed by Crawford *et al.*’s (2011) alternative reading as μινακο σκαφιριω, which gives a gentilicium which can at least be compared to an attested name (Lat. *Scafius*). Consequently, I follow Crawford *et al.*’s (2011) approach to these names.

¹⁰ The reading and interpretation of Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1475–7) is very different from my own. They read ετ in the first line of column 4, commenting that this ‘may be Latin ετ “and”’, and see ουσος as a name *Usus*, described as ‘presumably Latin’. They also read π(?) αφελιος, translated as ‘P. Auelius’, where I read παφελιος ‘*Pauillius*’. With Latin ετ now removed, interpretation of ουσος as Latin *Usus* is considerably less likely, especially since it is not attested as a Latin name, as far as I am aware. For further discussion on these words, see Chapter 6, s.v. παφελιος, ετ/ηις and McDonald, Tagliapietra and Zair (2015).

¹¹ For the inflection of a name according to the language of its bearer rather than the language of the text see Adams (2003: 124, 374–5).

influence from, Greek.¹² This consists of two features. One is the apparent use of both <iv> and <ioν> as the accusative singular ending of gentilicia. Pugliese Carratelli takes <ioν> to be the correct Oscan ending, with <iv> being the result of a koine Greek development. Campanile, on the other hand, suggests that <iv>, as the correct ending for Oscan praenomina, was carried over into the gentilicia, and that this can be attributed to the fact that the Greeks did not recognise the distinction between the Oscan praenominal ending *-iō- (> acc. sg. -iμ) and gentilicial *-iō- (> acc. sg. -ioμ). There appears to be some disagreement about whether the koine development of -ioν to -iv could have taken place already by the c. 330–320 BC date of Laos 2/Lu 46 (compare the competing authorities called by Pugliese Carratelli 1992: 17 fn. 1 and Campanile 1992b: 372 fn. 3 and note Cassio in Poccetti 1993b: 115), but the key point is that it is quite possible for the endings in both <iv> and <ioν> to be correct Oscan, since Oscan had gentilicia with accusative singulars in both [im] and [ijom] (see pp. 117–20), as noted by Cassio (in Poccetti 1993b: 115) and Poccetti (1993b: 163, 176–8).¹³ This is especially the case since in this text there is much uncertainty as to the order in which the names are to be read, and hence uncertainty as to which are praenomina (which could only have <iv>) and which are gentilicia.¹⁴

¹² For a discussion of the language of this tablet see McDonald (2015: 152–6).

¹³ The only problem with this view is the form σαβιδι(ν) in A.2, compared to σαβιδιον in A.6. This could be explained as being an abbreviated form of σαβιδιον. Alternatively, it could, in principle, be a praenomen σαβιδις beside the gentilicium σαβιδιες. Silvestri's (in Poccetti 1993b: 132–3) argument that οπιον and σαβιδιον (and all examples of apparent accusatives in -iūm, -ioμ) are genitive plurals is hardly likely: it would be too much of a coincidence that this alternate system of putting the gentilicium in the genitive plural rather than the same case as the praenomen is only found where the praenomen is also in the accusative singular, and never when the praenomen is in another case; and we would have to believe that the same person used both systems in the same inscription in Crimisa 3/Lu 44 (στατις πολλιες / κερρινομ <h>οριουμ) and Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43 (τρεβας τρεβατιες / νυμψιμ αλαφιομ).

¹⁴ For the competing suggestions see Silvestri (in Poccetti 1993b: 123–42), Poccetti (1993b: 161–76) and Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1345–6). That of Crawford *et al.* is by far the least plausible. One advantage of Poccetti's suggestion to read the horizontal part of Side A as written in two columns is that it avoids the need to posit a character called νοψις νοψις (A.2–3). However, this can also be avoided by reading the first νοψις as οψις, and attributing the <ν> to the preceding σαβιδι(ν) (thus Silvestri); it must also be noted that νοψις does seem to appear as both praenomen and gentilicium (the former in

The other feature of this tablet which suggests Greek influence is the use of <ν> rather than <μ> as the final letter of the accusatives. If the writer was a first-language speaker of Greek, this may be the result of interference, since /m/ was not acceptable word-finally in Greek. However, there is also an alternative possibility, which is that the writer was an Oscan speaker who had lost final /m/ (perhaps with nasalisation of a previous vowel). There is some evidence for this development in the tablet, where no final nasal is written in οφι(ν) (side A.2) and νοψ(ι)α(ν) (side B.1).¹⁵ Absence of final <m, μ> is well attested in inscriptions from Pompeii (Buck 1928: 71), and sporadically also elsewhere (**esu(m)** Anagnia 14/He 3, **limu(m)** Capua 34 A.8/Cp 37, **suva(m)** Capua 34 B/Cp 37, **tiú(m)** Saepinum 2/Sa 31, ρεγο(μ) Potentia 1/Lu 5, ηισου(μ) Petelia 2).¹⁶ In this case, the use of <ν> may be an independent attempt to write nasalisation on the vowel, or, more likely, be due to orthographic rather than phonological influence from Greek (i.e. the author knows ‘how to write’ Greek but not Oscan; see pp. 170–5).

Since this text consists almost entirely of names, it is of course very difficult to argue on lexical grounds for the language to be either Oscan or Greek; μεδεκον and μεδεκαν are clearly Oscan words, but since they are titles, they could easily have been borrowed into Greek. However, the ending <ον> suggests that μεδεκον is more likely to be Oscan than Greek: **meddiss** (e.g. Herculaneum 1/Cm 10) is a consonant-stem, so if borrowed into Greek it ought to appear as μεδδεκα (although consonant-stems in Oscan share the same endings as the *o*-stems in the accusative, genitive and ablative singular, so it possible that an

e.g. Nola 3/Cm 6, the latter in Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47 πακ(ις) νομψις), and cf. names like τρεβις τρεβοτιες (Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43).

¹⁵ There is also no nasal in σαβιδι(ν) (side A.2) and σπεδι(ν) (side A.5), but these appear before names which begin with <ν>, and may therefore be due to avoidance of double letters rather than have any phonological explanation.

¹⁶ Albeit ρεγο(μ) appears at the end of a line, in an inscription whose writer clearly ran out of space at the end of several other lines (note the much smaller <ο> of σταβαλανο in the following line), so the lack of <μ> may well be due to reasons of space rather than phonology; **tiú(m)** is also at the end of the line, at the end of the flat space available for writing on a round stone. In Petelia 2, ηισου(μ) is also at the end of a line, although there was enough space for a <μ>. Mancini (2014: 51–53) sees loss of final *-m as a feature of informal register in Oscan.

Oscan consonant-stem could have been borrowed into Greek as an *o*-stem). Similarly, the distinction between names in <iv> and <iov> suggests that the text is Oscan, since in Greek inscriptions both types of names are treated indiscriminately as names in -ioς (see the list of names in Greek inscriptions at Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1525–34). Overall, although the evidence is slight, it seems to me that Laos 2/Lu 46 should be considered to have Oscan as its matrix language, although perhaps with some Greek influence, and it will consequently be included in the data considered for the rest of the book.

It should be noted that the discussion up to now has considered only the question of what language an inscription has been written in. However, the possibility that the use of <v> in Laos 2/Lu 46 could be a feature typical of Greek orthographic practice raises an important question: since this book is dedicated to examining ‘Oscan’ orthography, should this inscription be excluded on the basis that, although written in Oscan, its orthography is ‘Greek’? The answer is no; although the discussion of Oscan written in the Greek alphabet has often been couched in terms of an orthographic tradition with scribal schools, I will be arguing that the line between ‘Oscan’ and ‘Greek’ orthographies is much less clear than such a picture would suggest. Consequently, all inscriptions which I consider to be written in Oscan will be included in the data; the possibilities that arise from cases like Laos 2/Lu 46 will be discussed throughout as appropriate.

All Oscan inscriptions in the Greek alphabet are considered in this book. However, not all are included in [Chapters 2, 3 and 4](#), in which the main task of establishing the values and usages of particular letters is carried out. These chapters include evidence from all inscriptions which definitely or possibly come from Lucania, Bruttium or Sicily, i.e. those areas where the Greek alphabet was the standard way of writing Oscan (until the adoption of the Latin alphabet in Bantia in the first century BC); thus e.g. Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1/Lu 26 is included. The small number of inscriptions whose findspot is definitely outside Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily will not be included in the

initial assessment of the data in [Chapters 2–4](#).¹⁷ In these cases we may think of a more haphazard and occasional use of the Greek alphabet, which consequently need not have followed whatever systems may have been developed in settled communities of Greek alphabet-using Oscan speakers; furthermore, at least one of these inscriptions (Teinum Sidicinum 25) appears to have been written by a non-native speaker of Oscan (Zair [2013](#): 219–20), which may also have an effect on the use of orthography. As it happens, I will suggest that for at least some inscriptions from Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily the use of the Greek alphabet was not necessarily any more systematic than for those outside this area. Nonetheless, since most scholars have assumed the existence of scribal traditions in this area, I shall also postpone discussion of the small number of inscriptions from outside it to [Chapter 5](#), where their spelling will be compared to the orthography examined in [Chapters 2–4](#).

¹⁷ These inscriptions are Cumae 17, Cumae 22, Cumae 23, Teinum Sidicinum 25, Surrentum 4/Cm 16, Picentia 3/Cm 31.

VOWELS

Introduction

Oscan had six phonemic vowels: /i/, which came from Proto-Italic **-ī-* and from **-i-* which was the result when Proto-Italic **-io-* underwent syncope of a final vowel before **-s* and **-m*; /e/ < **-ĭ-* and **-ē-*; /ɛ/ < **-ĕ-*; /a/ < **-ā-* (except word-final **-ā*); /o/ < **-ō-* and word-final **-ā*;¹ /u/ < **-ū-* and **-ō-*.² Long vowels were optionally written with two vowel signs in the Oscan alphabet (e.g. **miinieis**, Capua 38/Cp 2 for /mi:njeis/), but this is almost never found in non-initial syllables, and it seems likely that the distinction between long and short vowels had been lost except in the initial syllable of a word, due to the generalisation of an initial stress accent;³ although compensatory lengthening in some environments may have restored long vowels in non-initial syllables (Lejeune 1975: 244–5; but see Eichner 1993: 81 fn. 131).

In the early stage of the Oscan alphabet, ultimately derived from the Etruscan alphabet, <i> was used to represent both /i/ and /e/, and <u> was used for both /u/ and /o/. From about 300 BC a reformed alphabet was introduced, in which the new letters <ī> and <ū> were used to represent /e/ and /o/ respectively. Long vowels could optionally be marked by doubling of the vowel (in the reformed alphabet long /i:/ was written <īī> rather than expected <ii>): only those double vowel sequences which are

¹ It is often supposed that **-ā* remained a separate phoneme in Oscan, as in Umbrian and perhaps Paelignian (thus Meiser 1986: 44). But **-ā* is always written in exactly the same way as **-ā-* in Oscan, so there is no reason to suppose they had not fallen together (see pp. 56–7).

² And perhaps a seventh, /y:/, but the evidence is not secure. See Figure 1 with note.

³ The first exception to this rule consists of αφαματεδ (Potentia 9/Lu 6), αφαμα[τεδ] (Potentia 10/Lu 7; probably written by the same person), which is a compound formed of a preverb plus verb: apparently univerbation occurred after the loss of length in non-initial syllables. The second exception is **trīstaamentud** (Pompeii 24/Po 3), which is an adaptation of a borrowing from Lat. *testāmentum*.

Identifying vowels

Table 3: *Oscan vowels in the Oscan and Latin alphabets*

Oscan vowel	Oscan alphabet pre-300	Oscan alphabet post-300	Latin alphabet
/i(:)/	<i(i)>	<i(i)>	<i>
/e(:)/	<i(i)>	<i(i)>	<i>
/ε(:)/	<e(e)>	<e(e)>	<e>
/a(:)/	<a(a)>	<a(a)>	<a>
/o(:)/	<u>	<ú>	<o>
/u(:)/	<u(u)>	<u(u)>	<u>

actually attested are given in Table 3. In the Latin alphabet of the Tabula Bantina, <i> was used for both /e/ and /ε/.

The Greek alphabet used to write Oscan in Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily had available to it nine graphemes for vowels: <i>, <εi>, <ε>, <η>, <α>, <o>, <ω>, <ou> and <υ>. As we shall see, understanding how these graphemes were used in representing the Oscan vowels is an extremely complex business, especially with regard to the vowels /e(:)/, /o(:)/ and /u(:)/, which will be discussed here. Since both <ou> and <εi> could also be used to write the diphthongs /ou/ and /ei/ respectively, examples of the spelling of these diphthongs (which could also be spelt <οφ>, <ωυ>, <ωφ> and <ηι>) will also be collected and discussed below. The vowels /i(:)/, and /a(:)/ will not be discussed: /a(:)/ is always written with <α> and /i(:)/ with <i>. /ε(:)/ is consistently written with <ε> in the Greek alphabet, except in the diphthong /εi/ (the only example of /ε:/ is in the first syllable of *φεζεiς*, Caulonia 2, as a result of compensatory lengthening following loss of *-n- in **uensei*; see pp. 129–32).

Identifying vowels

Most of the time, the identification of a given vowel in an Oscan word is possible either because the word is attested in another alphabet used to write Oscan (the reformed Oscan alphabet is the

most useful, since it has a separate sign for each vowel), or because we know the etymology of the word (or both). For each word discussed here and in subsequent chapters, the phonological form along with the comparative and etymological evidence is given in [Chapter 6](#). Where some decisions about which vowel is present pertain to whole classes of words (for example all instances of accusatives), these are discussed under the appropriate phoneme below. In the collections of data in the rest of the chapter, there are frequently forms whose analysis is uncertain, either due to problems of reading the inscriptions or because we are not sure of the etymology of the word or morpheme. In the tables discussing individual vowel phonemes, only forms which definitely contain instances of that phoneme are included. Therefore, where it is not certain that a form contains a given phoneme, it is not included in the evidence for that phoneme.⁴ However, the omitted forms are given here, in alphabetical order, to allow the reader to see which forms have been left out. The forms are discussed at greater length in [Chapter 6](#).

αητε[(Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Etymology unclear.

α[αματομ (Potentia 21/Lu 29). 1sg. perf., acc. sg. or gen. pl.

βοθρονι[(ο)ν] (Laos 2/Lu 46). Could be /but^(h)runi/ or /bot^(h)runi/.

βρειγ (Breig 1). Could be /bre(:)g/ or /breig/.

δεδετ (Lucania 1/Lu 19), δ]εδε[τ (Potentia 26/Lu 20). Could be /dɛdɛd/ or /dedɛt/.

δεκιρες (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Etymology unclear.

διριος (Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2). This may be /di(:)rⁱius/ or /di(:)r(r)ius/, or it may be a Greek nom.sg.

εδει (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Etymology unclear.

ειφεικ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Etymology unclear.

ειθειοι (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Etymology unclear.

εισειδομ (Potentia 5/Lu 11), ειζιδομ (Potentia 1/Lu 5). Could be /esedom/ or /esedum/.

εσοτ (Anxia 1/Lu 39). Etymology unclear.

ετ/ηις (Petelia 2). Could be /etɛis/ (or etⁱɛis), but the reading is extremely uncertain.

φει (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Etymology unclear.

⁴ Thus, for example, βοθρονι[(ο)ν] is included in the evidence for /u/, since it is certain that this phoneme appears in the second syllable. But it is not included in the evidence for /o/, since it is not certain that this appears in the first syllable.

Identifying vowels

φερεκο (Vibo 3/tLu 9). All vowels uncertain.
 ηιδ<α>ς (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Could be /hi(:)das/ or /he(:)das/.
 ιμες (Crimisa 3/Lu 44). Could be /e:mes/ or /i:mes/.
 ιουφετουδ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Could be /joufetud/ or /jufetud/.
 καλινις (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3). Could be /kalinis/ or /kalenis/.
 κης (Petelia 2). Non-existent word (see [Chapter 6](#), s.v. ετ/ης).
]κονομ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Etymology unclear.
 κοττειης (Vibo 5/tLu 3). Not clear if <ει> represents /ej/ or /e/.
 μανο[υμ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Uncertain spelling of final vowel.
 μειν[(Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Etymology unclear.
 νειπ, νε[ιπ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Could be /neip/ or /nep/.
 νιυ]ν{π}ψηδ[ις (Potentia 26/Lu 20). Reading too uncertain.
]οκει+[(Potentia 37). Etymology unclear.
 ουπιδ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Could be /up(s)ed/ or /ouped/.
 [ο]υ[π]ενς (Messana 5/Me 2). Not enough of this line is preserved.
 ουσος (Petelia 2). This may be /u(:)sus/ or /ousus/, or a Greek nom. sg;
 but the reading is very uncertain.
 ουτιαναι (Potentia 17/Lu 15), ου]τιαναι (Potentia 18). Could be /u^ti^tanai/
 or /ou^ti^tanai/.
 οψ(ις) (Heraclea 2/Lu 61). May be read νοψ(ις).
 παφελιος (Petelia 2). This may be /pawi^li^lus/ or /pawillius/ or it may be
 a Greek nom. sg.
 πλατορ (Tegianum 1/Lu 41). Could be /plato:r/ or /platu:r/.
 προ[ffeδ (Potentia 8/Lu 9). Could be /pro/ or /pru/.
 πωμφοκ(ια) (Potentia 1/Lu 5). Could be /pomfok/ or /pomfuk/.
 ρεκινομ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Etymology unclear; acc. sg. or gen. pl.
 ρεκος (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Etymology unclear.
 τουρειεις (Vibo 7/tLu 7). Unclear if the medial <ει> is /ej/ or /e/.
 τρειβφομ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Etymology unclear; acc. sg., gen.
 pl., inf.
 τρειπκατομ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Acc. sg. or gen. pl.
 τρι[οπερτ] (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Could be /tri/ or /tre/.
 υπ(ι)λ(Vibo 9). Etymology unclear.
 φακτιεδ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Suffix unclear.
 φειρα[(Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Etymology unclear.

It is also worth highlighting once again here that the readings used are those of Crawford *et al.* (2011). On occasion, this results in considerable differences compared to Rix (2002). The following readings by Rix (2002), which would otherwise be included in the data, are therefore not taken into account.

(λ)οικηις (Potentia 17/Lu 15). Read οκ(ι)ηις by Crawford *et al.* (2011).
 μαιομ (Crimisa 3/Lu 44). Read μαιμ by Crawford *et al.* (2011).

ο(h)ταρις (Laos 3/Lu 63). Read [σ]ταρις by Crawford *et al.* (2011).
 τανγι]νοδ (Potentia 2/Lu 12). Read νο(μος) ΔΠ by Crawford *et al.*
 (2011).

Lejeune's theory

As far as I am aware, the only in-depth study of the use of the Greek alphabet to write Oscan vowels is that of Lejeune (1970, esp. 288–305, 1972a, esp. 9–10), whose conclusions have been largely followed since (with a few minor exceptions/alterations discussed directly below and in the sections on individual vowels). Before moving on to my collection of the data for Oscan vowels and diphthongs, it is therefore necessary to spend some time explaining the reasons for my reservations about Lejeune's approach. Lejeune's (1970) article was a groundbreaking attempt to make sense of the data then available (forty-six inscriptions in total), and in many ways his explanations were very plausible. However, the article was written at the beginning of a decade in the course of which there was a huge increase in the number of known inscriptions due to the excavations at Rossano di Vaglio (the majority of the Potentia inscriptions in Crawford *et al.* 2011), and, as I will argue, the much greater evidence now available forces us to take a very different attitude to the orthography of Oscan vowels.

Lejeune considered that the inscriptions represented three different graphical traditions (Lejeune 1970: 276). One was represented by Surrentum 4/Cm 16, from outside the area I am considering in the first chapters of this book, which Lejeune read as φηριweis (thus also Rix 2002), but which is now read by Crawford *et al.* (2011) as φιριweis. This single word was attributed by Lejeune to a separate tradition on the basis of the use of <φh> for /f/ (usually <f> in other inscriptions in the Greek alphabet). Another tradition was also represented by a single inscription (Vibo 2/Lu 25), on the basis of its use of <ου> for /o/ and <ο> for /u/, which contradicted the system which Lejeune sets up for the representation of these vowels in the remaining inscriptions (for which see Table 4). All the other available inscriptions were attributed by him to a single tradition 'représenté d'abord à Rossano . . . et dans sa région, et qui,

à travers diverses réformes, demeurera la tradition commune de l'ensemble lucanien-bruttien-mamertin' (Lejeune 1970: 276). At this point, therefore, Lejeune considered all the remaining texts in the Greek alphabet to belong to a single orthographic tradition.

By 1972, another inscription had been discovered (Potentia 1/Lu 25), which also did not match with the system proposed by Lejeune, despite being from the same site (Rossano di Vaglio) that Lejeune had identified as the centre of the main orthographic tradition; /e/ was spelt with all of <ει>, <ε> and <ι>, while /u/ was spelt <ο> and *-ā was spelt with both <ο> and <ω>.⁵ Lejeune attributed the inconsistent spelling of /e/ to a late stage of the language in which the distinctions between /ε/, /e/ and /i/ were beginning to break down. However, the spelling of back vowels was relatively consistent, and Lejeune consequently identified yet another scribal school, adding

Jusqu'ici [i.e. Lejeune 1970] ..., le caractère aberrant des notations vocaliques à Sorrente ... et à Vibo Valentia ... nous avait porté à envisager différentes 'naissances' indépendantes d'une écriture osque à modèle grec. On corrigera cette vue en la ramenant à l'idée d'une seule naissance de l'alphabet osco-grec (en Lucanie?), avec diffusion dans l'ensemble du monde osque méridional, mais avec des écoles orthographiques variant selon les lieux et les époques. (Lejeune 1972a: 10)

This statement introduces considerably more uncertainty into the question of vowel orthography in the Greek alphabet than was acknowledged in Lejeune's previous article, allowing for the possibility of any number of orthographic schools, either in different places, or in the same place (Rossano), but at different times. Nonetheless, Lejeune's original Rossano-based system has been widely accepted as an accurate picture of how vowels were written in the Oscan alphabet (often without mentioning his proposed alternative orthographic traditions; thus e.g. Wallace 2007: 6–7).⁶ Since many new inscriptions in the Greek alphabet

⁵ Lejeune considered *-ā to have been phonetically different from *-o- for at least some time in Oscan. But this is not the case. See pp. 56–7.

⁶ These also tended to disappear from Lejeune's own discussions of the vowel system, e.g. Lejeune (1975: 235–7, 1990: 27–8; n.b. also Lejeune 1985: 54–5, where the <ι> of μεδδικεν in Numistro 1/Lu 4 is not noticed as an exception to his system). Minor exceptions to Lejeune's scheme were noted by Lazzeroni (1983), who observed that <ο> could be used for /u/ as well as /o/, and for individual inscriptions by Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 200–205) and Nava and Poccetti (2001: 101–4). Crawford *et al.*'s

have been discovered since Lejeune's work in the early 1970s, it now seems appropriate to use this considerably greater corpus of evidence to test his hypothesis.

According to Lejeune, the representation of Oscan vowels in the Greek alphabet falls into two discrete stages. In the first stage, which was in use during the fourth century BC, /i/ was written with <ι> while /e/ and /ε/ were both written with <ε>. Thus, for example, the two dative/ablative plural forms in νετεφς πεθετεφς (Potentia 24/Lu 30) reflect /efs/ < *-ib^hos, and ανφακετ (Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 3/Lu 18) reflects /anafaket/, coming from *-fakit. The diphthong /ei/ was written <ει>, e.g. in ηερεκλεις < *-eīs (Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1/Lu 26). Around 300 BC a reform occurred in which the digram <ει> was (re-)borrowed from the Ionic Greek alphabet (where it represented /e:/) and used for Oscan /e/, leaving <ε> reserved for /ε/ (and of course <ι> for /i/). This usage is demonstrated for example by εισειδομ (Potentia 5/Lu 11) < *isidōm. Since this would have resulted in the spelling of both /e/ and the diphthong /ei/ with <ει>, the letter *eta* was (re-)borrowed with its Ionic value as a vowel (having previously been used in its value /h/), and was used to write /ei/ as <ηι>, e.g. in the personal name ηηιρενς (Potentia 1/Lu 5) /heirens/; cf. **heirens** (Campania or Samnium 6/ZO 1). In Lejeune's view, inscriptions which appear to combine these two systems reflect a transitional period after c. 300, with sporadic traces of the older orthography. Such a case is found in Cosilinum 2/Lu 40, where we find the genitive singular in /eis/ spelt with 'new' <ηις> in the personal name πακφηις, but the stem-vowel /e/ < *-ē- in φαλε spelt with 'old' <ε> rather than the expected <ει>, and in Potentia 40/Lu 13 with φακειτ < *-fakit spelling /e/ with 'new' <ει> but /ε/ spelt using 'old' <ε> in πεθεδ /pe.ed/ < *pējēd.

Rather a similar picture emerges, according to Lejeune, in the back vowels, at least in non-final syllables. The phonemes /u/ and /o/ were written <υ> and <ο> respectively in the fourth century, e.g. συππ (/sup/, cf. Lat. *sub*),⁷ μεταποντινας (/metapontinas/; both

(2011: 23–4) presentation of the use of the Greek alphabet in writing Oscan vowels is based on an uncredited preliminary version of my analysis in this chapter.

⁷ But note that elsewhere (e.g. 1970: 303), Lejeune considers vowels in monosyllables to have taken part in the development appropriate to final syllables, on which see directly below.

in Metapontum 1/Lu 37). The diphthong /ou/ was written <ou>; although there are no fourth-century examples of this, Lejeune sees it preserved in the third-century coin legend λουκανομ (Lucani 1/nLu 1). From the third century, however, parallel to the development from <ε> to <ει> for the spelling of /e/, the digraph <ou> came to be used for /u/, e.g. δουνακλομ (Potentia 25/Lu 21) /du:naklom/; /o/ remained spelt <o>. The diphthong /ou/ came to be spelt <ωυ> or <ωϝ> to avoid ambiguity with the new spelling <ou> for /u/ (e.g. ωυδδης Crimisa 2/Lu 24 /oud^hd^heis/, λωϝκίς Potentia 9/Lu 6 /loukis/). From this use of <ωϝ> for tautosyllabic /ou/, a convention developed by which heterosyllabic /ow/ was also spelt <ωϝ>. According to Lejeune, this is because /o/ before /w/, whether tauto- or heterosyllabic, probably had a more closed phonetic realisation than /o/ in other contexts, which could be spelt <ω>. This allophone apparently also appeared after a labial (Lejeune 1970: 303).

A complicating factor is the use of <υ> in νιυμσδης (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3) and νυμψιμ (Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43). According to Lejeune, these reflect the penultimate and last stages respectively of the development of Oscan *-ū- after a dental to *-ū- > [jy] > [y]. However, there is good evidence to suppose that this aspect of the inscriptions from Messana may reflect a spelling convention taken over from the Oscan alphabet (and perhaps also a different pronunciation [ju] in line with pronunciation in Campania and Samnium); see pp. 74–9 and pp. 138–9. So these inscriptions should be considered separately, and there seems no particular reason to treat the case of <υ> /u/ in Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43 any differently from the others, especially since Lejeune's description of Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43, as 'une de nos inscriptions ... les plus tardives' (1970: 299) is contradicted by Crawford *et al.*'s (2011) 'presumably before c. 200'. In final, unstressed syllables, there is, according to Lejeune, an extra twist in the story, due to the neutralisation of the opposition between /o/ and /u/, to produce an archiphoneme /ũ/. To some extent the evidence retains the preference for a spelling of original /o/ with <o> and /u/ with <υ> and <ou>. But final *-m tended to cause closing of the vowel preceding it, leading to spelling with <ω> beside <o>, and there was a general tendency to variation in spelling of /o/, /u/ > /ũ/ in final syllables. Absolute

Vowels

Table 4: *Lejeune's model of the orthography of Oscan vowels in the Greek alphabet*

Vowel	Stage 1	Stage 2	
/i/	<ι>	<ι>	
/e/	<ε>	<ει>	
/ε/	<ε>	<ε>	
/ει/	<ει>	<ηι>	
/a/	<α>	<α>	
/a/ ([ǣ]) in word-final position	<ο>	<ο>	
			Final syllables
/o/	<ο>	<ο>	<ο, ου, ω>
/o/ next to a labial	<ο>	<ω>	
/u/	<υ>	<ου>	<ου, ο, ω>
/u/ > [ju] > [y]	<υ>	<ιυ, υ>	
/ou/	<ου>	<ωϜ, ωυ>	

final **-ā* had become **-ǣ* in Proto-Sabellic, as demonstrated by the variation in spelling between <a>, <a> and <u>, <o> in Umbrian (cf. **muta**, **mutu** < **moltā*). In the Oscan alphabet, the result of this **-ǣ* is always spelt <ú> (<u> in the unreformed alphabet). According to Lejeune, the spelling of this phoneme in the Greek alphabet is always <o>, to be distinguished from the variation found in spelling /ũ/ with <o>, <ou> and <ω>, but he leaves open the possibility that at some point /ũ/ and [ǣ] also fell together. Lejeune's view of the spelling of the vowel system is summarised in [Table 4](#).

Despite the general acceptance of Lejeune's theory, I do not think that it is supported by the evidence now available to us. All the evidence is now collected in the rest of the chapter, where it will be seen that there are various ways in which it does not match Lejeune's hypothesis: for example, <ι> is often used to represent /e/; <o> is used to write /u/ in non-final syllables; <ω> is found for /o/ in other environments than around a labial and in final

syllables; use of <ε> for /e/ and <εi> for /ei/ continue for much longer than expected by Lejeune. However, although it is striking how poorly the evidence, arranged chronologically, bears out Lejeune's claims, such a collection of the evidence is not sufficient on its own to disprove Lejeune's theory, because, as already noted, this theory comes with several 'get-out clauses' to deal with any individual inscription which does not fit the system:

- a) If it shows features of both Stage 1 and Stage 2, and is datable to the third century or undated, it can be viewed as transitional.
- b) If it shows inconsistency in its use of orthography for front vowels and is datable to the second century or later, it can be explained as reflecting a late falling together of vowels in the front axis.
- c) If it shows features which are ruled out by Lejeune's system, e.g. <ι> for /e/ (and it is not a late inscription) or <o> for /u/ in a non-final syllable, it can be explained as the product of a different scribal school.

Consequently, in addition to the tables of evidence gathered in the rest of this chapter, which contain all the evidence considered together, it is also necessary to judge Lejeune's system in its own terms, i.e. allowing the possibility of ignoring some inscriptions on the basis of the observations given above. However, I believe it can be shown that taking such an approach not only results in having to posit different scribal traditions for a very large proportion of the inscriptions, but also that it leaves such an exceedingly small number of inscriptions which definitely fit with Lejeune's system rather than some other scribal tradition that the evidence that such a system ever existed is in fact negligible. Altogether, there are sixty-five inscriptions which show at least one of the vowels/diphthongs /e/, /o/, /u/, /ei/, /ou/ which are under discussion here. All the data is collected and analysed with regard to Lejeune's theory directly below. The purpose of the following discussion is to demonstrate that Lejeune's proposed system of Oscan vowel orthography in fact rests on an extremely small amount of plausible data, by means of showing that the vast majority of the inscriptions must not or need not fit with his system. Consequently, in the rest of this section, at the bottom of each table of data a running total (out of the grand total of sixty-five) will be given of the number of inscriptions which must be removed from the possible evidence for his system. Since some

inscriptions should be removed under more than one of the criteria composed below, this total is not the same as the number of entries in the tables: rather it is a count of individual inscriptions, regardless of how many criteria they fall under.

First of all, we must rule out all those inscriptions which do not follow the rules for the system laid out by Lejeune. Inscriptions may not fit into the system for the following reasons:⁸

- 1) The inscription includes <ι> for /e/, so either it belongs to a different scribal tradition, or it is a late inscription in which the front vowel system of Oscan is falling apart (Table 5).⁹

Table 5: <ι> for /e/

Inscription	Date	Word-form(s)
Metapontum 1/Lu 37	c. 400–375	μεδ <u>ι</u> κ <u>ι</u> α <u>ι</u>
Petelia 2	c. 300	π <u>ι</u> σ <u>π</u> ι <u>τ</u> ι(vi)μ κα <u>ι</u> δ <u>ι</u> κ <u>ω</u> κα <u>ι</u> δ <u>ι</u> κ <u>ι</u> ς
Numistro 1/Lu 4	300–275	μεδδ <u>ι</u> κεν
Potentia 12/Lu27	300–200	τ <u>ι</u> τ <u>ι</u> δ <u>ι</u> ε <u>ς</u>
Potentia 17/Lu 15	300–200	τ <u>ι</u> τ <u>ι</u> δ <u>ι</u> ε <u>ς</u>
Buxentum 1/Lu 62	300–200	ποκ]κα <u>π</u> ι <u>δ</u> (× 2) ποκκα <u>π</u> ι <u>δ</u> ι <u>α</u> f <h>ι <u>π</u> ε <u>ι</u> δ ου <u>π</u> ι <u>δ</u> π <u>ι</u> ς
Potentia 40/Lu 13	250–200	α <u>υ</u> τ <u>ι</u>
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†	ε <u>ι</u> ζ <u>ι</u> δ <u>ο</u> μ αι <u>ζ</u> ν <u>ι</u> ω κ <u>ω</u> σ(τ)ι <u>τ</u>
Total inscriptions		8

⁸ It should be remembered that some forms here are analysed differently by Lejeune (see pp. 29–30).

⁹ Since it may not always be obvious which vowel is being referred to in a given word, in this chapter I have underlined in the tables the appropriate letter(s).

- 2) It contains <ο> for /u/ in a non-final syllable, and so the inscription must belong to a different scribal tradition (Table 6).

Table 6: <ο> for /u/ in a non-final syllable

Inscription	Date	Word-form(s)
Laos 2/Lu 46	c. 330–320	νοψιν (× 2) νοψ(ι)α(ν) βοθρο̅νι[(ο)ν]
Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47	350–300	νο̅μψις
Laos 3/Lu 63	c. 300	ορτο̅ριες
Vibo 2/Lu 25	c. 300†	φερσο̅ρει
Potentia 44/tLu 1	c. 225	αρρο̅ντιες
Potentia 16/Lu 32	Either side 200	καπο̅ριννα̅[ι]
Potentia 9/Lu 6	200–175	νανο̅νις
Potentia 10/Lu 7	200–175	νανο̅νις
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†	πω̅μπο̅νις κε̅νσο̅ρτα̅ττι πο̅κιδ(ι̅ηις)
Cosilinum 2/Lu 40	c. 100	σ̅κ]αλα̅πο̅νις
Tegianum 1/Lu 41	100–90	σ̅καλα̅πο̅νις
Total inscriptions		18

- 3) It uses <ε> for /e/ from, let us say, 200 (this can no longer be considered, even generously, in the transitional period between Stage 1 and Stage 2 and therefore the inscription must belong to a different scribal tradition).¹⁰ This data is given in Table 7.

Table 7: <ε> for /e/ from 200

Inscription	Date	Word-form(s)
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†	ρε̅γο̅(μ)
Cosilinum 2/Lu 40	c. 100	φα̅λε̅
Total inscriptions		18

¹⁰ Very little of the evidence against Lejeune's system rests upon the dating of inscriptions. Nonetheless, it should be remembered that I use here the datings given in Crawford *et al.*

Vowels

- 4) It uses <εi> for /ei/ from, let us say, 200, and so the inscription must belong to a different scribal tradition (Table 8).

Table 8: <εi> for /ei/ from 200

Inscription	Date	Word-form(s)
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 2	c. 200–100	δ̲ε̲ι̲F̲ι̲ν(ο)
Total inscriptions		19

- 5) It uses <ou> or <op> for /ou/ from, let us say, 200, and so the inscription must belong to a different scribal tradition (no inscriptions).
- 6) It uses <ω> for /o/ which is not next to a labial, nor in the final syllable, and so the inscription must belong to a different scribal tradition (Table 9).

Table 9: <ω> for /o/ not next to a labial

Inscription	Date	Word-form(s)
Petelia 2	c. 300	κ̲ω̲σσ̲α̲ν̲ω̲
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†	κ̲ω̲σ̲(τ)ι̲τ
Potentia 37	No date	ω̲λ̲+[
Total inscriptions		20

- 7) It uses <ouF> for /ow/, and so the inscription must belong to a different scribal tradition (Table 10).

Table 10: <ouF> for /ow/

Inscription	Date	Word-form(s)
Paestum 1/Lu 14	c. 300	ι̲ο̲υ̲F̲η̲ι̲
Vibo 2/Lu 25	c. 300†	δ̲ι̲ο̲υ̲F̲ε̲ι̲
Numistro 1/Lu 4	300–275	σ̲ο̲υ̲F̲ε̲ν
Total inscriptions		21

(2011) unless otherwise stated, which often do not agree with those of Lejeune; thus, for example, Cosilinum 2/Lu 40, which Lejeune considers to reflect the transitional period shortly after about 300 BC, is now dated to around 100 BC.

Altogether, there are twenty-one inscriptions which fulfil one or more of these exceptions, leaving forty-four inscriptions which fit into Lejeune's schema. At this point we could simply accept that Lejeune's system existed for roughly two-thirds of the inscriptions available to us, and that the others belonged to different scribal schools (which co-existed across both space and time with the school represented by Lejeune's system). However, acceptance of Lejeune's system even for these forty-four inscriptions requires us to accept a considerable number of extra hypotheses: that there was a reform *c.* 300 BC in the system that was widely spread, that there was a transitional period in which both systems were used, and that there was a late change in the vowel system on the front axis in Oscan, for which there is no other evidence. It seems reasonable to adopt a sceptical approach to Lejeune's proposed system, and to examine the data to see exactly how much positive evidence it throws up for the existence of Lejeune's Stage 1 and Stage 2. There are two further factors which must be taken into account when looking for proof:

- 1) the inscription must not be 'transitional', i.e. show features from both Stage 1 and Stage 2; although the existence of 'transitional' inscriptions is plausible when the existence of Stage 1 and Stage 2 has been proven, they cannot act as proof themselves. In fact, there are no inscriptions which fall into this category which have not already been ruled out above.
- 2) Since at all times all 'orthographic traditions' seem to have been able to use <o> for /o/, inscriptions which show only <o> /o/ cannot act as proof. These inscriptions are given in [Table 11](#).

Table 11: <o> for /o/

Inscription	Date	Word-form(s)
Buxentum 3/Lu 45	400–300	πολλιε φοινι[κισ]
Potentia 18	225–200	μα]μερτοι
Numistro 2	<i>c.</i> 200–100	αβολλιε[ς]
Potentia 2/Lu 12	200–100	προφα[τεδ
Total inscriptions		25

Forty inscriptions remain. However, it cannot necessarily be assumed that these inscriptions now belong to the system proposed by Lejeune, because many of them could equally well be considered to belong to the same orthographic schools as those discussed above. Thus, for example, an inscription which has <ει> for /e/ and <ου> for /u/ could belong to Lejeune's Stage 2, but could also belong with Buxentum 1/Lu 62, which also has these features, and an inscription which has examples of <ηι> for /ει/ and <ο> for /u/ in a final syllable may belong to the same orthographic school as Potentia 1/Lu 5 rather than to Lejeune's Stage 2.¹¹

The following inscriptions demonstrate orthography which could belong to either Lejeune's Stage 1 or 2, or to another school represented by the twenty-one other inscriptions (Table 12).¹²

The final result of this process is that there are only five inscriptions which could not equally well fit into one of the alternative orthographic practices which I have identified, and which belong in Lejeune's main system. These are given in Table 13.

Of these five, the only difference between the system of Crimisa 2/Lu 24 and Potentia 1/Lu 5, which has <ηι> for /ει/ and <ωυ> for /ou/, is the use of <υ> rather than <ϕ> to represent the end of the diphthong /ou/, and Lejeune himself assumed that these were in free variation. Consequently, this cannot be used as a certain example of Lejeune's Stage 2. As a result, we have only four inscriptions which must definitely belong to Lejeune's system rather than to some other orthographic tradition (Stage 1: Potentia 24/Lu 30; Stage 2: Anxia 1/Lu 39, Messana 4/Me 1 & 3, Messana 5/Me 2). And even this number is generous, since the

¹¹ Potentia 24/Lu 30's only vowels are /e/ and /ε/, both of which are spelt <ε>; consequently, it could in principle belong to a scribal school such as that of Potentia 1/Lu 5, which uses <ε>, along with <ει> and <ι>, for /e/. However, since there are three (definite) instances of /e/ in Potentia 24/Lu 30, all of which are spelt <ε>, it will be assumed, for the sake of argument, that the use of <ε> and only <ε> was a consistent feature of the orthography of the writer of this inscription.

¹² I have included genitive plurals and accusative singulars in this table, because Lejeune's system makes predictions about their spelling (in particular, that we may find any of the three spellings after c.300). Even though we are not yet sure of the value of <ο>, <ω> or <ου> in these forms (see pp. 80–3), they can still be compared with the systems used in other inscriptions. For example, λουκανοι (Lucani 1/nLu 1) can be compared with the system of Potentia 40/Lu 13 regardless of whether the final two letters represent /om/ or /um/, because Potentia 40/Lu 13 uses both <ου> and <ο> to represent /u/ and <ο> to represent /o/.

Lejeune's theory

Table 12: *Inscriptions which could belong to alternative scribal schools*

Inscription	Date	Word-form(s)	Alternative scribal school
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 3/Lu 18	c. 375–350	αν <u>α</u> φα <u>κε</u> τ	e.g. Potentia 1/Lu 5
Caulonia 2	c. 325–300	φε <u>ζ</u> ει <u>ς</u>	e.g. Buxentum 1/Lu 62
Cosilinum 1/Lu 3	c. 300†	[τανγιν]σ<δ>	e.g. Potentia 1/Lu 5
Paestum 2	c. 300	μινι <u>η</u> ι <u>ς</u>	e.g. Potentia 1/Lu 5
Potentia 13/Lu 16	325–275†	με <u>φ</u> ι <u>τ</u> ει βρα <u>τ</u> ει <u>ς</u>	e.g. Buxentum 1/Lu 62
Potentia 19/Lu 36	325–275†	μα <u>μ</u> ερ <u>τ</u> ει	e.g. Buxentum 1/Lu 62
Potentia 20/Lu 28	325–275†	νυ <u>μ</u> ψ <u>δ</u> οι	e.g. Metapontum 1/Lu 37
Vibo 7/tLu 7	c. 300–275†	του <u>ρ</u> ει <u>ι</u> ς	e.g. Buxentum 1/Lu 62
Messana 6/Me 4	c. 275	μα <u>μ</u> ερ <u>ε</u> κ <u>η</u> ι <u>ς</u>	e.g. Petelia 2
Crimisa 3/Lu 44	c. 300–250	ι <u>μ</u> ε <u>ς</u> πο <u>λ</u> λι <u>ε</u> ς <h>ο <u>ρ</u> ι <u>ο</u> μ πο <u>τ</u> πε <u>δ</u> [ι(ο)μ]	e.g. Potentia 1/Lu 5
Messana 7/Me 5	c. 250	σ <u>τ</u> εννι <u>η</u> ι <u>ς</u> [α]τ <u>τ</u> πε <u>λ</u> λου <u>ν</u> η <u>ι</u> ς	e.g. Petelia 2
Messana 1/nMe 1a-b	c. 225	μα <u>μ</u> ερ <u>τ</u> ιν <u>ο</u> υ <u>μ</u>	e.g. Buxentum 1/Lu 62
Lucani 1/nLu 1	207–204	λου <u>κ</u> αν <u>ο</u> μ	e.g. Potentia 40/Lu 13
Crimisa 1/ Lu 23	300–200	ε <u>ρ</u> ου <u>κ</u> <ι>η<ι> <u>ς</u> πα <u>κ</u> τ <u>η</u> ι <u>ς</u> πα <u>κ</u> τι <u>η</u> <ι> <u>ς</u>	e.g. Petelia 2
Potentia 15/Lu 33	300–200	με <u>φ</u> ι <u>τ</u> η <u>ι</u>	e.g. Potentia 1/Lu 5
Potentia 31/Lu 59	300–200	]κ <u>η</u> ι <u>ς</u>	e.g. Potentia 1/Lu 5
Potentia 32/Lu 17	300–200	]ο <u>φ</u>	e.g. Potentia 1/Lu 5
Potentia 21/ Lu 29	250–200†	α <u>φ</u>]α <u>μ</u> α <u>τ</u> ο <u>μ</u>	

Vowels

Table 12: (*cont.*)

Inscription	Date	Word-form(s)	Alternative scribal school
		κ <u>h</u> ο <u>μ</u> ο <u>i</u> ν <u>υ</u>]μ <u>ψ</u> δ <u>ο</u> <u>i</u>]υ <u>ξ</u>	e.g. Buxentum 1/ Lu 62
Messana 2/tMe 1	Perhaps before c. 200	μα <u>μ</u> ερ <u>τι</u> ν <u>ο</u> υ <u>μ</u>	e.g. Buxentum 1/ Lu 62
Teuranus Ager 1/ Lu 43	Presumably before c. 200	ν <u>υ</u> μ <u>ψ</u> ι <u>μ</u> α <u>λ</u> α <u>φ</u> ι <u>ο</u> μ	e.g. Metapontum 1/ Lu 37
Vibo 5/tLu 3	Presumably before c. 200	κ <u>ο</u> τ <u>τ</u> ει <u>η</u> ι <u>ς</u>	e.g. Potentia 1/Lu 5
Vibo 6/tLu 8	Presumably before c. 200	μ <u>αι</u> η <u>ι</u> ς	e.g. Potentia 1/Lu 5
Vibo 8/tLu 6	Presumably before c. 200	<h> <u>ο</u> ρ <u>τ</u> ι <u>η</u> ι <u>ς</u>	e.g. Potentia 1/Lu 5
Potentia 8/Lu 9	Either side 200	] + <u>ω</u> μ	e.g. Petelia 2
Potentia 11/Lu 35	Either side 200	ζ <u>ω</u> φ <u>η</u> <u>i</u> π <u>i</u> ζ <u>η</u> <u>i</u>	e.g. Potentia 1/Lu 5
Potentia 22/Lu 31	Either side 200	φ <u>ε</u> ν <u>ζ</u> η <u>i</u>	e.g. Potentia 1/Lu 5
Potentia 25/Lu 21	Either side 200	δ <u>ο</u> υ <u>ν</u> α <u>κ</u> λ <u>ο</u> μ	e.g. Buxentum 1/ Lu 62
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1/Lu 26	After c. 200†	η <u>ε</u> ρ <u>ε</u> κ <u>λ</u> ει <u>ς</u>	e.g. Buxentum 1/ Lu 62
Atina Lucana 1/ Lu 2	c. 150	σ <u>ε</u> ν <u>α</u>]τ <u>η</u> ι <u>ς</u> τ <u>ρ</u> ει <u>β</u> [<u>ω</u> μ	e.g. Potentia 1/Lu 5
Potentia 3/Lu 8	200–100	α <u>φ</u> δ <u>ει</u> ε <u>ς</u>	e.g. Buxentum 1/ Lu 62
Potentia 5/Lu 11	200–100	ει <u>σ</u> ει <u>δ</u> ο <u>μ</u>	e.g. Buxentum 1/ Lu 62
Potentia 14/Lu 34	125–100†	μ <u>ε</u> φ <u>ι</u> τ <u>η</u> <u>i</u>	e.g. Potentia 1/Lu 5
Potentia 23/Lu 64	125–100	λ <u>ω</u> φ <u>κ</u> τ <u>η</u> ι <u>ς</u> η <u>ε</u> ρ <u>ε</u> κ <u>λ</u> ω <u>i</u> δ <u>ο</u> υ <u>ν</u> ω <u>μ</u> β <u>ρ</u> α <u>τ</u> η <u>ι</u> ς	e.g. Petelia 2

Lejeune's theory

Table 12: (*cont.*)

Inscription	Date	Word-form(s)	Alternative scribal school
Tauriani 1/tLu 13	<i>c.</i> 100	ταυριαν <u>ου</u> μ	e.g. Buxentum 1/ Lu 62
Potentia 36	No date	]ι <u>η</u> ς	e.g. Potentia 1/Lu 5
Total inscriptions			60

Table 13: *Inscriptions which must belong to Lejeune's system*

Inscription	Date	Word-form(s)
Potentia 24/Lu 30	325–275	νε <u>τε</u> ς πε <u>η</u> τε <u>ς</u>
Anxia 1/Lu 39	300–250	<u>ειν</u> (ει <u>μ</u>) λ <u>ει</u> κ <u>ει</u> τ λιο {κα} κ <u>ει</u> τ μ <u>ει</u> αι π <u>ω</u> τ μ]α <u>χε</u> ρ <u>η</u> ι
Messana 4/Me 1 & 3	<i>c.</i> 250	με <u>δ</u> δ <u>ει</u> ς <u>ειν</u> ει <u>μ</u> πο <u>μ</u> π <u>τι</u> ες τω <u>φ</u> το μα <u>μ</u> ερ <u>τι</u> νο σα <u>κο</u> ρο ου <u>π</u> σ <u>εν</u> ς α <u>π</u> πε <u>λ</u> λου <u>ν</u> ηι στα <u>τ</u> τι <u>η</u> ς νι <u>υ</u> μ <u>σ</u> δι <u>η</u> ς
Messana 5/Me 2	<i>c.</i> 250	<u>ειν</u> ει <u>μ</u> μα <u>μ</u> ερ <u>τι</u> νο σα <u>κο</u> ρο τω <u>φ</u> τ[ο] α <u>π</u> πε <u>λ</u> λ[ο]υ <u>ν</u> ηι

Table 13: (*cont.*)

Inscription	Date	Word-form(s)
Crimisa 2/Lu 24	300–200	σ]ταττιη̣ις νιυ̣μσδιη̣ις ωυ̣δδ̣ιη̣ις (h)ε̣ριη̣ις λη̣ις
Total inscriptions		65

two inscriptions from Messina are copies of each other and presumably written by the same person, so do not necessarily provide independent evidence, while Potentia 24/Lu 30's apparent consistency in use of <ε> for /e/ rests on only three certain examples (see p. 40 fn. 11). Four inscriptions (at maximum) out of a total of sixty-five which show the appropriate phonemes or phoneme combinations does not seem to me enough evidence for the existence of an orthographic tradition. Consequently, I conclude that proof is lacking for the existence of the sort of unified orthographic tradition proposed by Lejeune, and that we should endeavour to find other explanations for the representation of the Oscan vowels in the Greek alphabet in Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily.¹³

Data and analysis

The positive evidential base for the system of Lejeune, which has been the mainstream view since it was published, is almost non-existent; furthermore, although he accepts the existence of different orthographic schools which used a different system from that outlined by him, these now represent at least a large minority of the inscriptions available to us. Consequently, the time seems

¹³ In principle, it may still be possible to split Lejeune's system into a set of separate claims about vowel orthography which may individually be correct, for example that the use of <η̣> for /ēi/ is later than, and replaced, <ε̣>. In practice, even if we take these claims separately, we find that most of them do not fit the evidence, as shown directly below.

right to reconsider the question afresh. I will therefore collect and discuss all the evidence for the various phonemes in the following order: (1) /e/, (2) /ei/, (3) /o/ and /ou/, (4) /u/. The results of this analysis, with regards to the evidence it provides about orthographic variation, dialectal variation, nominal morphology and dating of inscriptions, will be given in the Conclusion (pp. 79–95).

The phoneme /e/

Table 14 contains all the certain examples of the phoneme /e/ in the Greek-alphabet inscriptions from Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily. I have not included in the table names in -ιδις. Lejeune (1972a: 9)

Table 14: *Spelling of /e/*

Inscription	Date	<ι>	<ει>	<ε>
Metapontum 1/ Lu 37	c. 400–375	μεδ <u>ι</u> κ <u>ι</u> αι		
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 3/Lu 18	c. 375–350			ανα <u>φα</u> κε <u>τ</u>
Laos 2/Lu 46	c. 330–320		μα <u>ρα</u> ει <u>ν</u> (× 2)	με <u>δε</u> κ <u>ον</u> (× 3) με <u>δε</u> κ <u>αν</u>
Petelia 2	c. 300	π <u>ι</u> σ <u>π</u> ι <u>τ</u> ι <u>(νι)</u> μ κα <u>ι</u> δ <u>ι</u> κ <u>ω</u> κα <u>ι</u> δ <u>ι</u> κ <u>ις</u>		α <u>φ</u> ε <u>ς</u>
Potentia 24/ Lu 30	325–275			νε <u>τε</u> φ <u>ς</u> πε <u>η</u> τε <u>φ</u> ς
Numistro 1/Lu 4	300–275	με <u>δε</u> δ <u>ι</u> κε <u>ν</u>		σου <u>φ</u> ε <u>ν</u> με <u>δε</u> δ <u>ι</u> κε <u>ν</u>
Anxia 1/Lu 39	300–250		ει <u>ν</u> (ει <u>μ</u>) λ <u>ει</u> κε <u>ι</u> τ λιο {κα <u>ς</u> } κ <u>ει</u> τ μ <u>ει</u> αι	
Crimisa 3/Lu 44	c. 300–250			ι <u>μ</u> ε <u>ς</u>

Vowels

Table 14: (cont.)

Inscription	Date	<ι>	<ει>	<ε>
Messana 4/Me 1 & 3	c. 250		μεδδ <u>ει</u> ξ εινε <u>ι</u> μ	
Messana 5/Me 2	c. 250		εινε <u>ι</u> μ	
Buxentum 1/ Lu 62	300–200	ποκ]κα <u>π</u> ιδ (× 2) ποκκα <u>π</u> ιδ ι <u>α</u> φ <h>ι <u>π</u> ειδ ου <u>π</u> ιδ π <u>ι</u> ς	μεδ <u>ει</u> κα[τεν τρε <u>ι</u> β <u>ι</u> φομ hα <u>ει</u> τουδ <h>ι <u>π</u> ειδ εινε <u>ι</u> μ του <u>τ</u> ει <u>κ</u> αις ει <u>ο</u> κ (× 2) του <u>τ</u>]ει <u>κ</u> ουδ]ι[ι]ε <u>δ</u> ει <u>σ</u> τ τρε <u>ι</u> π <u>κ</u> ατομ	με]δδ <u>ε</u> ς εινε <u>ι</u> μ μεδδ <u>ε</u> ς ιου <u>φ</u> ε <u>τ</u> ουδ με]δδ <u>ε</u> [ς
Potentia 12/ Lu 27	300–200	τι <u>ι</u> τιδ <u>ι</u> ες		
Potentia 17/ Lu 15	300–200	τι <u>ι</u> τιδ <u>ι</u> ες		
Potentia 40/ Lu 13	250–200	αυ <u>ι</u>	α <u>φ</u> α <u>κ</u> ει <u>τ</u>	με <u>τ</u> σε <u>δ</u> πε <u>η</u> ε <u>δ</u> π <u>λ</u> α <u>μ</u> ε <u>τ</u> ο <u>δ</u>
Atina Lucana 1/ Lu 2	c. 150		τρε <u>ι</u> β[ωμ	
Potentia 3/Lu 8	200–100		α <u>φ</u> δ <u>ει</u> ες	
Potentia 5/Lu 11	200–100		ει <u>σ</u> ει <u>δ</u> ομ	
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†	ει <u>ζ</u> ι <u>δ</u> ομ αι <u>ζ</u> ν <u>ι</u> ω κω <u>σ</u> (τ)ι <u>τ</u>	ειν(ει <u>ι</u> μ) ει <u>ζ</u> ι <u>δ</u> ομ	ρε <u>γ</u> ο(μ)
Cosilinum 2/ Lu 40	c. 100			<u>φ</u> α <u>λ</u> ε

considers them to be derived from a suffix **-id̥io-*; the short vowel **-i-* is no doubt reconstructed because only short vowels were subject to the syncope seen in forms like νιυμσδιηις (Messana 5/Me 2) /njumsd^jd^jeis/, and because Latin forms such as *Ouidius* show a short **-i-*. However Benediktsson (1960: 264 fn. 104)

points out that in addition to **pupdiis** (Caudium 3/Cm 34; Latin equivalent *Popidius*) and **húsdiiis** (Bouianum 42/Sa 43; no direct Latin equivalent: **Horidius*) we also find **púpidiis** (e.g. Pompeii 9/Po 5; *Popīdus*) and **húsidiiis** (Histonium 1/Fr 1; **Horīdus*). The presence of an <i> before the /d/ in these forms cannot be explained as levelling from forms of the paradigm where syncope would have been prevented because the vowel was followed by two consonants (e.g. gen. sg. **-idiēis*), because a preserved short **-i-* > /e/ would have been spelt with <í> rather than with <i>, which implies a vowel /i/. According to Benediktsson such forms are to be compared with variants in Latin such as *Tettīdus* beside *Tettidus* and we have two suffixes **-īd̥io-* and **-ed̥io-*. Therefore the following forms probably reflect **-īd̥io-* rather than **-id̥io-*: βιφιδης (Thuria Copia 1/Lu 47; **Biuīdus*), πακιδιες, πετιδης (Laos 3/Lu 63; **Pacīdus*, *Petīdus*), τιτιδιες (Potentia 17/Lu 15, Potentia 12/Lu 27; *Tettīdus*), ποκιδ(ιης) (Potentia 1/Lu 5; **Pucīdus*), σαβιδιον (Laos 2/Lu 46; *Safīdium/Sabīdium*). ποπεδ[ι(ο)μ] (Crimisa 3/Lu 44; *Popidus*) must have restored /e/ from other parts of the paradigm (because we would expect **ποπεδιον* by syncope of the vowel in the second syllable).

Nor have I included names with the suffix written <ies>, which was used to form gentilicia. Oscan has a name system similar to that of Latin, in which (free) males basically have two names, a first name (praenomen) and a family name (gentilicium); as in Latin, males also sometimes have a third name (a cognomen). (On Oscan names see Lejeune 1976.) Many gentilicia are clearly descended from original patronymic adjectives formed by adding a suffix **-io-* to the praenomen of the father. Thus, for example, we find the praenomen **heirens** (Campania or Samnium 6/ZO 1; Latin equivalent **Herennus*) < **ġ^herēndos* beside the gentilicium **heirennis** (Nola 3/Cm 6; *Herennius*) < **ġ^herēndios*. However, **-io-* was also used as a suffix for praenomina, as in **statis** (Bouianum 98/Sa 36; *Statius*) < **stātios*. Gentilicia derived from praenomina in **-io-* have a nominative singular which in the Oscan alphabet is normally spelt <iis>, e.g. **statiis** (Campania or Samnium 2/ZO 2). The gentilicia in <iis> seem likely to be the result of the addition of another suffix **-io-* to a praenomen which already had **-io-* (Meiser 1986: 62–6;

differently Lejeune 1976: 74–9). Exactly how this double suffix developed is somewhat unclear, but it seems likely that that the spelling <iis> represents something like /i.is/ [ijis].¹⁴ Gentilicia of this type are frequently found with the spelling <iīs> in Pompeii, and occasionally elsewhere, which looks as though it represents a dissimilation of the second vowel in the sequence to /ies/.¹⁵ In the Latin and Greek alphabets, we find a consistent spelling <ies> and <ιες> respectively, e.g. *caedcies* (Italia 2/Lu 56; *Caedicius*), πολλιες (Crimisa 3/Lu 44; *Pollius*). In both cases, these spellings can probably also represent /ies/. In the orthography of the Tabula Bantina, which is our longest source written in the Latin alphabet (but which contains no names), /e/ is usually represented by <i> rather than <e>. However, in the orthography used by the so-called North Oscan languages Paelignian, Marrucinian and Vestinian, /e/ can also be spelt <e> (Jiménez Zamudio 1986: 125). The Oscan inscriptions containing gentilicia in <ies> consist of a series of bronze tablets containing only names (Italia 2/Lu 56 and 55, Italia 4/Lu 49, Italia 5/Lu 48, Italia 7/Lu 54, Italia 8/Lu 52) and a single inscription from the area of the Frentani (Histonium 12/Fr 16). The tablets are argued by Crawford (2010) to come from Corfinium in the area of the Paeligni. Given that the Frentani bordered the Paeligni and Marrucini, it is reasonable to assume that these inscriptions may have shared an orthography similar to that of the Paeligni and Marrucini, which was different from that adopted for the Tabula Bantina further south, and which could use <e> for /e/. As regards the Greek orthography, <ε> can represent both /e/ and /ε/, although the consistency of the use

¹⁴ Note that the interpretation of the first <i> as /j/ is ruled out because the suffix <iis> does not cause gemination of a preceding consonant (Meiser 1986: 64; for the effects of *-j- on a preceding consonant see pp. 112–25). Furthermore, an original short vowel in a preceding syllable is prone to syncope when followed by a consonant and this suffix, as in forms like *pupdiis* (Caudium 3/Cm 34); if the suffix did begin with /j/ it would create a closed syllable and prevent syncope of the preceding vowel. On the basis solely of the evidence in the Oscan alphabet <iis> and <iīs> could also represent /i:s/. But this is ruled out by the fact that the equivalents in the Latin and Greek alphabets are <ies> and <ιες> respectively; neither of these alphabets ever otherwise spell /i:/ <ie> or <ιe>.

¹⁵ The predominance of <iis>, even in inscriptions otherwise using the reformed alphabet, suggests that this spelling may have been retained as a traditional archaism in writing names.

of <ε> in the <ι̅ες> names is surprising if it represents /e/ here, since, as we will see, there is great variation in the spelling of /e/ in the inscriptions. One possibility is that the use of <ε> in these names had simply become conventionalised. Alternatively, the consistent spelling with <e> in the Latin alphabet and <ε> in the Greek alphabet may suggest that this suffix was really /ies/ rather than /ies/, as argued by Weiss (2010: 300–303), who explains the Oscan alphabet spellings <iis> and <i̅is> by a secondary analogical remodelling. If this argument is correct, the names in <ι̅ες> do not provide any evidence for the spelling of /e/, and consequently are left out of the discussion.

I have included in Table 14 names which are formed with /e/, a suffix not identified by Lejeune (1976). This could form praenomena, as in α̅φες (Petelia 2; Latin equivalent **Aueus*), **sep̅ieis** (Capua 27/Cp 28; **Sepeus*), [ga]**av̅ieis** (Atina 1.A/Sa 14; **Gāueus*), or gentilicia, as in ι̅μες (Crimisa 3/Lu 44; **Imeus*), **pett̅ie[i]s** (Capua 26/Cp 29; written **pett̅ieis** Capua 25/Cp 30; **Petteus*). This suffix is probably from *-e̅io-, which with loss of intervocalic *-i̅- gave *-eo- > *-eo-, followed by a raising of *-ε- to *-e- directly before another vowel (Meiser 1986: 109). The equivalent of the <iis> gentilicium to this type is found in α̅δε̅ι̅ε̅ς (Potentia 3/Lu 8; *Audeius*). Given the complications surrounding the origin of the <iis> suffix, it is difficult to know exactly how the type with <ι̅ες> was formed.¹⁶ If Lejeune (1976: 80) is right to see the same suffix in **hereiis** (Cumae 8.39/Cm 14; *Hereius*), we can assume that the final result was /ε.i.is/. But the situation is confused by the fact that the same person is subsequently called **heri̅ieis** (l.42), which implies a nominative **heri̅is***; it is possible that the second <e> of **hereiis** is a mistake, as suggested by Lejeune, but it is also possible that a second <e> was omitted in **heri̅ieis**, which should be read **her<e>i̅ieis**.¹⁷ I am inclined to accept the evidence

¹⁶ Lejeune (1976: 80) assumes the suffix is *-e̅io-. But such a sequence would probably not have given a nominative /ε.i.is/, on the basis of the parallel with the praenomen **magios* > **maj̅ios* > μ̅αι̅ι̅ς (Numistro 1/Lu 4, Crimisa 3/Lu 44), **ma̅is** (Abella 2/Cm 8), not *μ̅αι̅ε̅ς, ***ma̅iis** (**mahi̅is** is attested in Atina 1.B/Sa 37, but is a gentilicium).

¹⁷ If the reading **heri̅ieis** of Crawford *et al.* (2011: 505) were correct, it would point towards the second possibility, since the second <e> is present, just in the wrong place. But no earlier editor seems to have had this reading, and no comment on it is provided in the apparatus. I suspect it is simply a typographical mistake.

of **hereiis**, so we should interpret $\alpha\phi\delta\epsilon\iota\epsilon\varsigma$ as /audε.ies/. For analysis of the endings of the difficult forms $\mu\alpha\rho\alpha\epsilon\iota\nu$ (Laos 2/Lu 46), $\tau\omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (Vibo 7/tLu 7) and $\kappa\omicron\tau\tau\epsilon\iota\eta\iota\varsigma$ (Vibo 5/tLu 3), see under these words in [Chapter 6](#).

It can be seen from [Table 14](#) that both <ι> and <ε> are used to write /e/ throughout the range of time covered by our inscriptions. Although most of the examples of the digraph <ει> are from the third century onwards, there is already a fourth century example in $\mu\alpha\rho\alpha\epsilon\iota\nu$ (× 2) (Laos 2/Lu 46).

The diphthong /ει/

The direct evidence for the diphthong /ει/ is given in [Table 15](#). Further indirect evidence for the use of <ηι> may be provided by $\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\kappa<\iota>\eta<\iota>\varsigma$, and $\pi\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\eta<\iota>\varsigma$ (Crimisa 1/Lu 23, 300–200). In these forms, the omission of <ι> could be taken to reflect a monophthongisation of the diphthong /ει/ which may also appear in other inscriptions.¹⁸ However, <η> is otherwise used only in the digraph <ηι>, so it seems likely that the scribes intended to write <ηι> and omitted <ι> in error (for a possible explanation for such an error see p. 216).¹⁹ If they are genitive rather than nominative singulars, $\phi\alpha\rho\iota\epsilon(\iota)\varsigma$ (Laos 2/Lu 46), $\lambda\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$ (Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47) may be examples of the monophthongisation, but could also be due to mistaken omission of <ι>.

Crawford *et al.* (2011: 55, see also 48) ‘very cautiously’ suppose a development of ‘early’ <ει> to ‘later’ <ηι>, i.e. essentially the same view as that taken by Lejeune for the spelling of /ει/.

¹⁸ Apart from **de(f)vaí** (Saepinum 4/Sa 59), the monophthongisation is otherwise found only in the genitive singulars *pantes* (Bantia 1, Adamesteanu fragment 1.8/Lu 1), **minies** (Capua 40/Cp 3), **herettates** (Histonium 7/Fr 4), **kanuties** (Saticula 4/Cm 24), **púlieh** (Capua 45/Cp 41), *zoves* (Bantia 2/Lu 38), $\lambda\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$ (Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47), perhaps $\mu\alpha\chi\iota\epsilon\varsigma$ (Buxentum 3/Lu 45). It is a feature of ‘lower class’ Oscan according to Lazzaroni (1985; followed by Mancini 2014: 41–2, with further examples), but due to a ‘Pre-Samnite’ substrate according to Meiser (1987: 115 fn. 60) and Rix (1996: 246–7). Others, however, have seen these examples as an Etruscan (Clackson in Crawford *et al.* 2011: 24), or Indo-European (Prodocimi 2002, with copious bibliography) genitive singular, without any monophthongisation being involved at all. On such a monophthongisation in South Picene and ‘Pre-Samnite’ see Martzloff (2007: 85).

¹⁹ This interpretation seems more likely than the alternative, that monophthongisation of /ει/ produced a long /ε:/ which the writers of these inscriptions represented with <η>.

Data and analysis

Table 15: *Spelling of /ei/*

Inscription	Date	<ει>	<ηι>
Caulonia 2	c. 325–300	φε <u>ζει</u> ς	
Paestum 1/Lu 14	c. 300		ιου <u>φη</u> [2]+[1]ανα <u>ρη</u> βρα <u>τη</u> ς
Paestum 2	c. 300		μινι <u>η</u> ς
Petelia 2	c. 300		ετ/ <u>η</u> ς <u>η</u> σου(μ)
Vibo 2/Lu 25	c. 300†	διου <u>φει</u> φερσο <u>ρει</u>	
Potentia 13/Lu 16	325–275†	με <u>φι</u> τε <u>ι</u> βρα <u>τει</u> ς	
Potentia 19/Lu 36	325–275†	μαμερ <u>τει</u>	
Potentia 17/Lu 15	300–275		οκ(ι) <u>η</u> ς με <u>φι</u> τ <u>η</u> β[ρ]α{ι}τ <u>η</u> ς
Vibo 7/tLu 7	c. 300–275†	του <u>ρει</u> ς	
Messana 6/Me 4	c. 275		μαμερ <u>ε</u> κ <u>η</u> ς
Anxia 1/Lu 39	300–250		μ]α <u>χε</u> ρ <u>η</u>
Messana 4/Me 1 & 3	c. 250		στα <u>τ</u> τι <u>η</u> ς νι <u>υ</u> μ <u>σ</u> δι <u>η</u> ς α <u>π</u> π <u>ε</u> λλ <u>ου</u> ν <u>η</u>
Messana 5/Me 2	c. 250		σ]τα <u>τ</u> τι <u>η</u> ς νι <u>υ</u> μ <u>σ</u> δι <u>η</u> ς α <u>π</u> π <u>ε</u> λλ[ο]υ <u>ν</u> η
Messana 7/Me 5	c. 250		στε <u>ν</u> ν <u>η</u> ς [α]π <u>π</u> ε <u>λ</u> λ <u>ου</u> ν <u>η</u> ς
Buxentum 1/Lu 62	300–200	ει <u>σ</u> ει <u>ς</u>]υ <u>κ</u> ει <u>ς</u>	
Crimisa 1/Lu 23	300–200		πα <u>κ</u> τ <u>η</u> ς
Crimisa 2/Lu 24	300–200		ω <u>σ</u> δ <u>ι</u> η <u>ς</u> (h)ε <u>ρ</u> ι <u>η</u> ς μ <u>αι</u> [-?-] <u>η</u> ς
Potentia 12/Lu 27	300–200		διο <u>φ</u> η
Potentia 15/Lu 33	300–200		με <u>φι</u> τ <u>η</u>

Vowels

Table 15: (*cont.*)

Inscription	Date	<ει>	<ηι>
Potentia 31/Lu 59	300–200		]κ <u>η</u> ις
Potentia 40/Lu 13	250–200		κ <u>λο</u> φα <u>τ</u> η <u>ι</u> ς
Vibo 5/tLu 3	Presumably before <i>c.</i> 200		κο <u>τ</u> τ <u>ε</u> ι <u>η</u> ις
Vibo 6/tLu 8	Presumably before <i>c.</i> 200		μ <u>αι</u> ι <u>η</u> ις
Vibo 8/tLu 6	Presumably before <i>c.</i> 200		<h>ο <u>ρ</u> τ <u>ι</u> η <u>ι</u> ς
Potentia 11/Lu 35	Either side 200		ζ <u>ω</u> φ <u>η</u> ι πι <u>ζ</u> η <u>ι</u>
Potentia 16/Lu 32	Either side 200		μ <u>ε</u> φ <u>ι</u> τ <u>η</u> ι
Potentia 22/Lu 31	Either side 200		φ <u>ε</u> ν <u>ζ</u> η <u>ι</u>
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1/Lu 26	After <i>c.</i> 200†	η <u>ε</u> ρ <u>ε</u> κ <u>λ</u> η <u>ι</u> ς	
Potentia 9/Lu 6	200–175		σ <u>π</u> η <u>ε</u> λλ <u>η</u> ις σ <u>ε</u> να <u>τ</u> η <u>ι</u> ς δι <u>ω</u> φ <u>η</u> ις
Potentia 10/Lu 7	200–175		σ <u>ε</u> να <u>τ</u> η <u>ι</u> ς
Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2	<i>c.</i> 150		σ <u>ε</u> να]τ <u>η</u> ις
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 2	<i>c.</i> 200–100	δ <u>ε</u> ι <u>φ</u> ιν(ο)	
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†		η <u>η</u> ι <u>ρ</u> εν <u>ς</u> η <u>η</u> ι <u>ρ</u> (εν <u>η</u> ις) κε <u>ν</u> σ <u>ο</u> ρ <u>τ</u> α <u>τ</u> η <u>ι</u> σ <u>ε</u> να <u>τ</u> η <u>ι</u> ς
Potentia 14/Lu 34	125–100†		μ <u>ε</u> φ <u>ι</u> τ <u>η</u> ι
Potentia 23/Lu 64	125–100		λ <u>ω</u> φ <u>κ</u> τ <u>ι</u> η <u>ι</u> ς β <u>ρ</u> α <u>τ</u> η <u>ι</u> ς
Cosilinum 2/Lu 40	<i>c.</i> 100		πα <u>κ</u> φ <u>η</u> ις
Potentia 36	No date		] [ι] ι <u>η</u> ις

As can be seen from the data in [Table 15](#), <ηɪ> is considerably more frequent (29 inscriptions) than <εɪ> (8 inscriptions), and cannot be said to be clearly later than <εɪ>, since <ηɪ> is first attested around 300, and there is only one inscription with <εɪ> which might be earlier (Caulonia 2). From the table, it does look as though <εɪ> was primarily used from the late fourth to the (early?) third centuries, though it has still not completely died out in the second century. But we should be suspicious of the apparent skew towards the earlier use of <εɪ>: it may simply be a chance result, given the relatively small amount of evidence for <εɪ> at all. More importantly, the datings given by Crawford *et al.* (2011) for most of these inscriptions are in fact quite unreliable: Potentia 19/Lu 36 and Vibo 7/tLu 7 are dated on the basis of using <εɪ> rather than <ηɪ>, which is what we are currently examining. Potentia 13/Lu 16 is also dated on this basis (see [Table 2 note e](#)). Since Potentia 19/Lu 36 may have been re-used, and Potentia 13 was a private inscription, we should instead follow the archaeological approach used elsewhere by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 51–4; see pp. 10–11) and date them to before *c.* 200. Vibo 2/Lu 25 is dated partly by its use of <εɪ> rather than <ηɪ>, and partly also on its use of <ou> for /o/ before heterosyllabic /w/, which may allow a slightly later dating than 300 (see below). As it happens, the dating of Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1/Lu 26 to after *c.* 200 is also dubious, since it is done on the basis of the shape ꝛ for <h>, which is available from the fourth century (on the dating of the signs for <h> see pp. 96–8). Consequently, several of these inscriptions could be pushed rather later into the third century. On these grounds, and since <εɪ> is still attested in the second century, I conclude that we cannot assume use of <εɪ> as an early feature, replaced by use of <ηɪ>; both are in existence in our earliest evidence. <εɪ> was probably always less common, and may have got even less common in the second century and perhaps fallen out of use in the first (although since there are so few inscriptions containing <εɪ> which are reliably dated, it is hard to be sure about its distribution across the period 400–200 at all).

The phonemes /o/ and /ou/

The data for the spelling of /o/ is given in [Table 16](#). The table includes instances of the *o*-stem dative singular. This was

Vowels

Table 16: *Spelling of /o/*

Inscription	Date	<ο>	<ω>
Metapontum 1/Lu 37	400–375	μεταποντινας	
Laos 2/Lu 46	c. 330–320	λοικιν	
Buxentum 3/Lu 45	400–300	πολλ[ιε]ς φοινι[κισ]	
Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47	350–300	λοικ(ις) λοικες	
Laos 3/Lu 63	c. 300	ορτοριες λορκις	
Petelia 2	c. 300	σολλομ πακολ καφνοτο στατιο εμαυτο μινα<τ>ο (× 2) αυδα<ρ>ο νορφο	πακφιω και {αι} δ<ι>ω στατιω καιδικω τρε<β>ω αλαφιω σκαφιριω βαντινω κωσσανω
Potentia 19/Lu 36	325–275†	μεφτανοι	
Potentia 20/Lu 28	325–275†	οιναι νυμψδοι μεφτανοι μαμερττοι	
Anxia 1/Lu 39	300–250		πωτ κω[ρο]
Crimisa 3/Lu 44	300–250	ποπεδ[ι(ο)μ] πολλιες	
Messana 4/Me 1 & 3	c. 250	πομπτιες τωρτο μαμερτινο σακορο	τωρτο
Messana 5/Me 2	c. 250	μαμερτινο σακορο	τω<ρ>τ[ο]
Lucani 1/nLu 1	207–204	λουκανομ	
Buxentum 1/Lu 62	300–200	<κ>λοπουστ ποια[δ]	

Data and analysis

Table 16: (*cont.*)

Inscription	Date	<ο>	<ω>
Potentia 40/Lu 13	250–200	π<u>ο</u>νδ<u>ι</u>ου[μ σε<u>ρ</u>ευ]κ<u>ι</u>δ<u>ι</u>μ<u>ο</u> ε<u>ι</u>ο<u>κ</u> (× 2) τ<u>ο</u>υ<u>τ</u>ει<u>κ</u>αι<u>ς</u> <u>φ</u>α<u>τ</u>[ο<u>φ</u>]ο<u>ι</u> <u>δ</u>ι<u>ο</u>φ<u>ι</u>ο<u>ι</u> <u>φ</u>λου<u>σ</u>ο<u>ι</u>	
Potentia 21/Lu 29	250–200	κ<u>η</u>ο<u>μ</u>ο<u>ι</u> ν<u>υ</u>μ]ψ<u>δ</u>ο<u>ι</u>	
Potentia 18	225–200	μ <u>α</u>]μ <u>ε</u> ρ <u>τ</u> ο <u>ι</u>	
Potentia 10/Lu 7	200–175	δ <u>ι</u> ο <u>μ</u> αν <u>α</u> [ς]	
Numistro 2	c. 200–100	α <u>β</u> ο <u>λ</u> ι <u>η</u> ε[ς]	
Potentia 2/Lu 12	200–100	π <u>ρ</u> ο <u>φ</u> α[τε <u>δ</u>	
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†	σ<u>τ</u>α<u>β</u>α<u>λ</u>αν<u>ο</u> σε<u>γ</u>ο<u>ν</u>ω	π<u>ω</u>μ<u>π</u>ο<u>ν</u>ι<u>ς</u> π<u>ω</u>μ<u>φ</u>ο<u>κ</u>(<u>ι</u>αι) π<u>ρ</u>ω<u>φ</u>α<u>τ</u>ε<u>δ</u> κ<u>ω</u>σ(τ)ι<u>τ</u> σε<u>γ</u>ο<u>ν</u>ω αι<u>ζ</u>ν<u>ι</u>ω <ο>π<u>σ</u>αν<u>ω</u>
Potentia 23/Lu 64	125–100		δ<u>ο</u>υν<u>ω</u>μ <u>η</u>ε<u>ρ</u>ε<u>κ</u>λ<u>ω</u>ι
Cosilinum 2/Lu 40	c. 100	ο<u>π</u>ι<u>ε</u>ς ε<u>κ</u>ο	π <u>ι</u> ω
Potentia 37	No date		ω <u>λ</u> +[

etymologically *-ōi but the long diphthong seems likely to have been shortened in Oscan. The dative singular is almost uniformly spelt with <ú> in inscriptions in the reformed Oscan alphabet (24 instances out of 28 in the reverse index at Rix 2002: 204).²⁰ Two of the exceptions (both in the word **flagiui**) are in Capua 20/Cp 25, an inscription with texts written by different hands on two sides; in both texts there are diacritics missing on other words (side A:

²⁰ Rix gives a count of 29 by counting **pīhiui** (Teruentum 34 B.15/Sa 1) twice.

iuvilas, iuveí, stahint; side B: **iúvilas** and **stahínt**, but **iuveí** for expected ^x**iúveí**; Meiser 1986: 68). The remaining two cases (**mamertiúí pettiannuí**) appear on the same inscription (Acerrae I/tCm 7). It seems best to explain them as mistakes too. Since there is so little evidence for retention of **-ōi*, it seems likely that the diphthong was shortened by regular sound change,²¹ and consequently it is included in the evidence for /o/. This analysis will turn out to be supported by the evidence of the forms in the Greek alphabet.

Not included are accusative singulars originally in **-om*. Although this clearly contains an etymological short vowel, we often find <u>, which implies /u/, before **-m* in the Oscan alphabet instead of expected <ú>, and <u> instead of expected <o> in the Tabula Bantina. This variation may be due to a closer articulation of /o/ in this position (thus Buck 1928: 37; Meiser 1986: 52). Consequently, since we do not at this stage know whether the same confusion of /o/ and /u/ occurred in the more southerly area which used the Greek alphabet, the forms are left out of consideration. The same problem also applies to possible instances of first person singular perfect endings and infinitives spelt <ouμ>, of which, however, we have no absolutely certain examples. Conclusions about these endings are given on pp. 80–3.

The table does include /o/ from both **-o-* and word-final **-ā*, including in tautosyllabic /ou/ but not heterosyllabic sequences of /ow/, which require further discussion below. As already noted above, Proto-Sabellic absolute final **-ā* < **-ā* still remained distinct from **-o-* into Umbrian, as demonstrated by the variation in spelling between <a>, <a> and <u>, <o> (cf. **muta**, **mutu** < **moltā*), and perhaps also into Paelignian (Meiser 1986: 44). In the Oscan alphabet, the result of this **-ā* is always spelt <ú> (<u> in the unreformed alphabet). According to Meiser (*ibid.*), **-ā* remained separate from the other back vowels in Oscan on the basis that **-ā* is always spelt with <o> in the Greek alphabet while /o/ < **-o-* is spelt <o> and <ω>. Extracting from Table 16 only forms which contain **-ā* produces the evidence in Table 17, which shows that Meiser's

²¹ Although Meiser (1986: 49–52) is cautious, since many of the examples of <ú> come from areas which show spelling of the abl. sg. with <úd>, instead of <ud>, which is expected for etymological **-ōd* (see pp. 26–7).

Table 17: *Spelling of *-ā*

Inscription	Date	<ο>	<ω>
Petelia 2	c. 300	κα <u>ρ</u> νο <u>τ</u> στα <u>τ</u> ιο ε <u>μ</u> αυ <u>τ</u> μ <u>ι</u> να<τ> <u>ο</u> (× 2) αυ <u>δ</u> α<φ> <u>ο</u> νο <u>φ</u> ιο	πα <u>κ</u> φι <u>ω</u> και {αι}δ<ι> <u>ω</u> στα <u>τ</u> ι <u>ω</u> και <u>δ</u> ικ <u>ω</u> τρε<β> <u>ω</u> α <u>λ</u> α <u>φ</u> ι <u>ω</u> σ <u>κ</u> α <u>φ</u> ι <u>ρ</u> ι <u>ω</u> β <u>αν</u> τι <u>ν</u> ω κ <u>ω</u> σ <u>σ</u> αν <u>ω</u>
Messana 4/Me 1 & 3	c. 250	τω <u>φ</u> τ <u>ο</u>	
Buxentum 1/ Lu 62	c. 300–200	ει <u>ο</u> κ (× 2) σε <u>ρ</u> ε <u>υ</u>]κι <u>δ</u> ι <u>μ</u> ο	
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†	στα <u>β</u> α <u>λ</u> αν <u>ο</u> σε <u>γ</u> ον <u>ω</u>	σε <u>γ</u> ον <u>ω</u> αι <u>ζ</u> ν <u>ι</u> ω <ο>π <u>σ</u> αν <u>ω</u>
Cosilinum 2/ Lu 40	c. 100	ε <u>κ</u> ο	πι <u>ω</u>

statement is incorrect. I conclude that $*-ā > *-ā$ had become /o/ in Oscan, since it is spelt exactly the same as /o/ (both <ο> and <ω>) in the Greek alphabet, as in the Oscan and Latin alphabets.

It was argued by Lejeune that there was a development in the spelling of the (tautosyllabic) diphthong /ou/ from <ου, οφ> to <ωυ, ωφ>. There is no *a priori* reason why the diphthong /ou/ should have been considered anything other than /o/ followed by /w/, and hence written in the same way as any other sequence involving /o/. But apart from the requirements of the framework used by Lejeune, which we can now disregard, there is the parallel of <ηι>, where <η> is restricted only to representing /ε/ in this diphthong, never being used to write /ε/ in other combinations. So it is not impossible that /ou/ might have a special orthography. Table 18 does not completely support Lejeune's claim, with <ου> still being used in 207–204 BC, later than the first use of <ωφ> around 250 BC; nonetheless, the overall picture suggests a switch

Vowels

Table 18: *Spelling of tautosyllabic /ou/*

Inscription	Date	<ου> and <οϝ>	<ωυ> and <ωϝ>
Laos 3/Lu 63	c. 300	λ <u>ο</u> ϝκ <u>ι</u> ς	
Messana 4/Me 1 & 3	c. 250		τ <u>ω</u> ϝτ <u>ο</u>
Messana 5/Me 2	c. 250		τ <u>ω</u> <ϝ>τ[ο]
Lucani 1/nLu 1	207–204	λ <u>ο</u> υκ <u>α</u> νο <u>μ</u>	
Buxentum 1/Lu 62	300–200	τ <u>ο</u> υτ <u>ε</u> ικ <u>α</u> ις	
Crimisa 2/Lu 24	300–200		ω <u>υ</u> δδ <u>ι</u> η <u>ι</u> ς
Potentia 9/Lu 6	200–175		λ <u>ω</u> ϝκ <u>ι</u> ς
Potentia 10/Lu 7	200–175		λ <u>ω</u> ϝκ <u>ι</u> ς
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†		λ <u>ω</u> ϝκ(ι <u>η</u> ις)
Potentia 23/Lu 64	125–100		λ <u>ω</u> ϝκ <u>ι</u> τ <u>ι</u> η <u>ι</u> ς

from <ου, οϝ> to <ωυ, ωϝ> in the course of the third century. However, if we assume that the /o/ of /ou/ was simply represented in the same way as any other /o/, this distribution is unsurprising: <ω> is not used prior to about 300, and then is quite frequent; the absence of <ο> after about 200 may simply be a coincidence, especially since two of the cases of <ωϝ> occur in inscriptions which use <ω> for other cases of /o/ (Potentia 1/Lu 5, Potentia 23/Lu 64), and Potentia 9/Lu 6 and Potentia 10/Lu 7, which use <ωϝ>, were probably written by the same person.

A point in favour of /ou/ being treated differently is the apparent distinction between, on the one hand, /o/ from *-o- and *-ā, which is written <ο> in προμπτιες, τωϝτο, μαμερτινο, σακορο (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3), μαμερτινο, σακορο (Messana 5/Me 2), and, on the other hand, /o/ as part of the diphthong /ou/, which is written <ω> in τωϝτο (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3), τω<ϝ>τ[ο] (Messana 5/Me 2). Most other inscriptions which use both <ο> and <ω> do so regardless of the origin of /o/ (Petelia 2, Potentia 1/Lu 5, Cosilinum 2/Lu 40). However, Potentia 10/Lu 7 shows the same distinction, with λωϝκις and διωϝηις, but διομανα[ς]. Potentia 9/Lu 6, which was very probably written by the same person as Potentia 10/Lu 7, may have the same usage (λωϝκις, διωϝηις), but has no examples of /o/ outside a diphthong. The phoneme /o/ is found written <ω> in a diphthong in

ωυδδης in Crimisa 2/Lu 24, but there are no other examples of /o/ in this inscription, so we cannot be sure these would not have been also written with <ω>. Since there are only a few cases of /o/ in Potentia 10/Lu 7, it is difficult to be sure that the apparent difference between /o/ in /ou/ spelt <ω> and other cases of /o/ spelt <ο> is meaningful. In the case of Messana 4/Me 1 & 3 and Messana 5/Me 2, the examples of /o/ are frequent enough that it is possible that the difference is intentional, but chance cannot be entirely ruled out.

In principle, the favouring of <ωυ, ωϕ> from the third century might correlate with the fact that <ου> spells /u/ from (at least) the third century (see below). But the only inscription which actually shows <ου> (rather than <οϕ>) for /ou/ is Buxentum 1/Lu 62, which also uses <ου> for /u/. So homography does not seem to have been a problem at least for the writer of this inscription. Overall, although it is possible that some writers may have distinguished in spelling between /o/ inside and outside a diphthong, the evidence suggests that this was not consistently attempted.

One would expect that what applies to tautosyllabic /ou/ would also apply to heterosyllabic /ow/. However, in this case there is certainly a core of forms which show a different orthography, i.e. <ουϕ>, in addition to expected <οϕ> and <ωϕ>. Del Tutto Palma (1989: 105–8) proposes a chronological development from <οϕ> to <ουϕ> to <ωϕ>,²² and this is indeed what the evidence shows (Table 19).

The forms in the final column of Table 19 are the only instances of etymological *-o- being spelt <ου> in our corpus. In the case of σουφεν (Numistro 1/Lu 4) it would be possible to argue that what we have here is [u] due to raising of *-o- before /w/ in the enclitic pronoun (cf. the spellings with <u> of this word in the Oscan alphabet).²³ But this cannot be the explanation for its use in ιουφνη (Paestum 1/Lu 14) and διουφει (Vibo 2/Lu 25), where the /o/ is in

²² Presumably Crawford *et al.*'s (2011: 55) otherwise incomprehensible proposed development of 'early' <ου> to 'later' <ο> to 'late' <ο, ω> is also to be taken as referring only to position before heterosyllabic /w/.

²³ As found in **suveis** (Abella 1 A.9, B.9/Cm 1), **suvad** (Pompeii 16/Po 16), **suv(ad)** (Pompeii 17/Po 17) 'his/her' < *soyo- beside **súvad** (Aufidena 2/Sa 18), **súv(ad)** (Teruentum 9/Sa 16) (Nishimura 2012: 383 fn. 8).

Vowels

Table 19: *Spelling of heterosyllabic /ow/*

Inscription	Date	<οϜ>	<ωϜ>	<ουϜ>
Laos 2/Lu 46	c. 330–320	οϜι(ν)		
Laos 3/Lu 63	c. 300	οϜι(ς)		
Paestum 1/Lu 14	c. 300			ιουϜηι
Vibo 2/Lu 25	c. 300†			διουϜει
Numistro 1/Lu 4	300–275			σ <u>ου</u> Ϝειν
Potentia 12/Lu 27	300–200	δι <u>ο</u> Ϝηι		
Potentia 40/Lu 13	250–200	κ <u>λο</u> Ϝατς δι <u>ο</u> Ϝιοι ῑ <u>α</u> τοϜε κ <u>λο</u> Ϝατηις		
Potentia 11/Lu 35	Either side 200		ζ <u>ω</u> Ϝηι	
Potentia 9/Lu 6	200–175		δι <u>ω</u> Ϝηις	
Potentia 10/Lu 7	200–175		δι <u>ω</u> Ϝιιας	

the initial stressed syllable. Perhaps there was a more general allophonic raising of /o/ before /w/, which the writers of these inscriptions chose to represent. Such a raising cannot have been phonemic, since we have other examples of this sequence written <ωϜ>, and since – except in **suveís** etc. – it is always written <úv> in the Oscan alphabet, and <ou> in the Latin alphabet, which clearly shows that we have /ow/ not /uw/. Consequently, I am inclined to think that this is an attempt to reflect some kind of ambisyllabicity of /w/, so that the spelling <ουϜ> rather reflects /o/ <o> followed by heterosyllabic/ambisyllabic /w/ spelt <υϜ> (for a similar explanation, with Greek parallels, see Del Tutto Palma 1989: 105–8).

I conclude that the orthography of /o/ in both tautosyllabic diphthongs /ou/ and heterosyllabic sequences /ow/ follows the same conventions as the spelling of /o/ in all other environments (in the case of the spelling <ουϜ>, the sequence <ου> is not a digraph for /o/). Consequently, we can create a final table (Table 20) containing all the evidence for /o/ (including in diphthongs and /ow/

Table 20: *Spelling of /o/, all evidence*

Inscription	Date	<o>	<ω>
Metapontum 1/Lu 37	400–375	μεταπον <u>τι</u> νας	
Laos 2/Lu 46	c. 330–320	λοι <u>κ</u> ιν ο <u>φ</u> ι(ν)	
Buxentum 3/Lu 45	400–300	πο <u>λλ</u> [ι <u>ε</u>]ς φο <u>ιν</u> ι[κ <u>ι</u> ς]	
Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47	350–300	λοι <u>κ</u> (ι <u>ς</u>) λοι <u>κ</u> ες	
Laos 3/Lu 63	c. 300	λο <u>φ</u> κ <u>ι</u> ς ο <u>φ</u> ι(ς) ο <u>ρ</u> το <u>ρι</u> ες	
Paestum 1/Lu 14	c. 300	ι <u>ο</u> υ <u>φ</u> η <u>ι</u>	
Petelia 2	c. 300	σο <u>λ</u> λο <u>μ</u> πα <u>κ</u> ο <u>λ</u> κα <u>φ</u> νο <u>τ</u> ο στα <u>τι</u> ο ε <u>μ</u> αυ <u>τ</u> ο μ <u>ιν</u> α<τ> <u>ο</u> (× 2) αυ <u>δ</u> α<φ> <u>ο</u> νο <u>φ</u> ι <u>ο</u>	πα <u>κ</u> φ <u>ι</u> ω και {αι}δ<ι> <u>ω</u> στα <u>τι</u> ω και <u>δι</u> κ <u>ω</u> τρε<β> <u>ω</u> α <u>λ</u> α <u>φ</u> ι <u>ω</u> σκα <u>φ</u> ι <u>ρι</u> ω βαν <u>τι</u> ν <u>ω</u> κω <u>σ</u> σαν <u>ω</u>
Vibo 2/Lu 25	c. 300†	δι <u>ο</u> υ <u>φ</u> ει	
Potentia 19/Lu 36	325–275†	με <u>φ</u> ι <u>τ</u> αν <u>ο</u> ι	
Potentia 20/Lu 28	325–275†	ο <u>ιν</u> αι νυ <u>μ</u> ψ <u>δ</u> ο <u>ι</u> με <u>φ</u> ι <u>τ</u> αν <u>ο</u> ι μα <u>μ</u> ερ <u>τ</u> τ <u>ο</u> ι	
Numistro 1/Lu 4	300–275	σο <u>υ</u> φ <u>ε</u> ν	
Anxia 1/Lu 39	300–250		πω <u>τ</u> κ <u>ω</u> [ρ <u>ο</u>]
Crimisa 3/Lu 44	300–250	πο <u>π</u> ε <u>δ</u> [ι(ο) <u>μ</u>] πο <u>λλ</u> ι <u>ες</u>	
Messana 4/Me 1 & 3	c. 250	πο <u>μ</u> π <u>τι</u> ες τω <u>φ</u> τ <u>ο</u> μα <u>μ</u> ερ <u>τι</u> νο σα <u>κ</u> ο <u>ρ</u> ο	τω <u>φ</u> τ <u>ο</u>

Vowels

Table 20: (cont.)

Inscription	Date	<ο>	<ω>
Messana 5/Me 2	c. 250	μαμερτινο σακρορο	τω<φ>τ[ο]
Lucani 1/nLu 1	207–204	λουκανομ	
Buxentum 1/Lu 62	300–200	<κ>λοπουστ πρια[δ πονδιου[μ σερευ]κιδιμο ειοκ (× 2) τουτεικαις ιουφετουδ	
Crimisa 2/Lu 24	300–200		ωυδδιης
Potentia 12/Lu 27	300–200	διοφηι	
Potentia 21/Lu 29	250–200	κιομοι νυμ]ψδοι	
Potentia 40/Lu 13	250–200	φατ[οφ]ρι διοφιοι φλουσοι κιοφατς κιοφατηις	
Potentia 18	225–200	μα]μερτοι	
Potentia 11/Lu 35	Either side 200		ζωφηι
Potentia 9/Lu 6	200–175		λωφκις διοφηις
Potentia 10/Lu 7	200–175	διομανα[ς]	λωφκις διοφριας
Numistro 2	c. 200–100	αβολιε[ς]	
Potentia 2/Lu 12	200–100	προφα[τεδ	
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†	σταβαλανο σεγονω	πωμπονις πωμοφοκ(ιαι) προφατεδ κωσ(τ)ιτ σεγονω αιζνιω <ο>πσανω

Table 20: (*cont.*)

Inscription	Date	<ο>	<ω>
Potentia 23/Lu 64	125–100		λ <u>ω</u> Ϝκ(ιηις) η <u>ε</u> ρεκλ <u>ω</u> ι λ <u>ω</u> Ϝκτιηις
Cosilinum 2/Lu 40	c. 100	ο <u>π</u> ι <u>ε</u> ς ε <u>κ</u> ο	π <u>ι</u> ω
Potentia 37	No date		ωλ+[

sequences, and dative singulars in /oi/, but with the exception of accusative singulars from *-*om*). From this evidence we can conclude that <ου> is never used as a spelling for /o/, and <ω> is used only for /o/ (as noted by Rix 1996: 254). Both <ο> and <ω> are used from at least 300 BC, although /o/ is always more common. The non-attestation of <ω> prior to 300 could be a coincidence, but we do have six inscriptions from this period, and the use of <ω> in spelling the accusative singular also does not appear before 300 (see Table 29). Consequently, I am inclined to think it more likely that <ω> was not used before c. 300.

The phoneme /u/

The evidence for the vowel /u/ is collected in Table 21. I have included names derived with the suffix written <ον>: these are πωμπονις (Potentia 1/Lu 5; Latin equivalent *Pompōnius*), νανονις (Potentia 9/Lu 6, Potentia 10/Lu 7; *Nanōnius*), σκαλαπονις (Cosilinum 2/Lu 40), and σκαλαπονιες (Tegianum 1/Lu 41; *Scalpōnius*). According to Lejeune (1970: 295), Oscan had generalised the short vowel variant in these names derived from an original nasal stem *-*ōn*-/-*on*-. However, after the discovery of Potentia 1/Lu 5, in which <ω> seems to reflect /o/, he assumes (Lejeune 1972a: 10) that πωμπονις has the long-vowel variant in order to explain the spelling with <ο>. This is obviously special pleading, and we should assume that the same suffix is found in all the names. As noted by Meiser (1986: 50–51) this is probably

Vowels

Table 21: *Spelling of /u/*

Inscription	Date	<υ>	<ου>	<ο>
Metapontum 1/Lu 37	400–375	σ <u>υ</u> π		
Laos 2/ Lu 46	c. 330–320			ν <u>ο</u> ψιν (× 2) ν <u>ο</u> ψ(ι)α(ν) βοθρ <u>ο</u> νι[(ο)ν]
Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47	350–300			ν <u>ο</u> μψις
Cosilinum 1/ Lu 3	c. 300†			[τανγιν]ο<δ>
Laos 3/ Lu 63	c. 300			ορ <u>ο</u> ριες
Vibo 2/Lu 25	c. 300†			φερ <u>ο</u> ρει
Potentia 20/ Lu 28	325–275†	ν <u>υ</u> μψοι (× 2) ν <u>υ</u> [μψδαναι]		
Vibo 7/tLu 7	c. 300–275†		τ <u>ο</u> υρειεις	
Messana 4/ Me 1 & 3	c. 250		<u>ο</u> υπ <u>σ</u> ενς απ <u>π</u> ελλ <u>ο</u> υνηι	
Messana 5/ Me 2	c. 250		απ <u>π</u> ελλ[<u>ο</u>]υνηι	
Messana 7/ Me 5	c. 250		[α]π <u>π</u> ελλ <u>ο</u> υνηις	
Potentia 44/ tLu 1	c. 225			αρρ <u>ο</u> ντιες
Buxentum 1/ Lu 62	300–200		π <u>ο</u> υς (× 2) ε <u>σ</u> τ <u>ο</u> υδ <ε <u>σ</u> >σ <u>ο</u> υf <κ>λ <u>ο</u> π <u>ο</u> υστ ακ <u>τ</u> ουδ φουρ <u>ο</u> υστ η <u>α</u> φ <u>ει</u> τ <u>ο</u> υδ <τ>{αν}αγγιν <u>ο</u> υδ	

Data and analysis

Table 21: (*cont.*)

Inscription	Date	<υ>	<ου>	<ο>
			<u>]</u> ου <u>s</u> ρα <u>φ</u> ου <u>s</u> [τ <u>]</u> ου <u>s</u> τ <u>φ</u> ου <u>s</u> τ παν <u>τ</u> ου[δ ιου <u>φ</u> ε <u>τ</u> ου <u>δ</u> του <u>τ</u>] <u>ε</u> ικ <u>ο</u> υ <u>δ</u> <u>]</u> ου <u>δ</u> <u>]</u> τ <u>ο</u> υ <u>δ</u>	
Crimisa 1/ Lu 23	300–200		ε <u>ρ</u> ου <u>κ</u> <ι>η<ι> <u>s</u>	
Potentia 32/ Lu 17	300–200			<u>]</u> ο <u>f</u>
Potentia 40/ Lu 13	250–200		φ <u>λ</u> ου <u>s</u> οι	π <u>λ</u> α <u>μ</u> ε <u>τ</u> ο <u>δ</u>
Teuranus Ager 1/ Lu 43	Presumably before c. 200	ν <u>υ</u> μ <u>ψ</u> ι <u>μ</u>		
Potentia 16/ Lu 32	Either side 200			κα <u>π</u> ο <u>ρ</u> ο <u>ι</u> ν <u>α</u> [1]
Potentia 25/ Lu 21	Either side 200		δ <u>ο</u> υ <u>ν</u> α <u>κ</u> λ <u>ο</u> μ	
Potentia 9/ Lu 6	200–175			να <u>ν</u> ο <u>ν</u> ι <u>s</u> κ <u>ρ</u> αι <u>s</u> το <u>ρ</u> ταν <u>γ</u> ι <u>ν</u> ο <u>δ</u>
Potentia 10/ Lu 7	200–175			να <u>ν</u> ο <u>ν</u> ι <u>s</u> κ <u>ρ</u> αι <u>s</u> το <u>ρ</u> ταν <u>γ</u> ι <u>ν</u> ο <u>δ</u>
Atina Lucana 1/ Lu 2	c. 150			ταν <u>γ</u> ι <u>ν</u> ο <u>δ</u>
Potentia 4/ Lu 10	200–100			κ <u>ρ</u>] <u>αι</u> sτο <u>ρ</u>
Potentia 1/ Lu 5	125–100†			π <u>ω</u> μ <u>π</u> ο <u>ν</u> ι <u>s</u> κε <u>ν</u> σ <u>ο</u> ρ <u>τ</u> α <u>τ</u> η <u>i</u> π <u>ο</u> κ <u>ι</u> δ(ι <u>η</u> ι <u>s</u>)

Vowels

Table 21: (cont.)

Inscription	Date	<u>	<ou>	<o>
Potentia 23/ Lu 64	125–100		δουνωμ	τανγιν <u>ο</u> τ
Cosilinum 2/ Lu 40	c. 100			σκ]αλαπ <u>ο</u> νις
Tegianum 1/ Lu 41	100–90			σκαλαπ <u>ο</u> νιες
Potentia 37	No date			]τι <u>ο</u> f

*-ōn- (cf. [p]úmpunis Velia 1/tLu 15, and Latin names such as *Petrōnius* and *Pompōnius*).

Also included are ablative singulars in *-ōd. Since *-ō- becomes /u/ in Oscan, its spelling as <ud> in the Latin alphabet of the Tabula Bantina is expected. However, in the Oscan alphabet it is found written with both <u>, which is expected for original *-ō-, and <ú>, which instead implies /o/. The writing with <ú> for expected <u> is dialectally determined, being restricted to Samnium, the area of the Frentani and north-east Campania (Lejeune 1970: 301–4; Meiser 1986: 549–52; Rix 1996: 252–6). Since all other morphological categories ending in *-ōd (e.g. 3sg. imperatives in *-tōd) always show the etymologically expected orthography in the Oscan alphabet, it seems likely that the spellings with <ú> are due to analogy with the /o/ of the accusative singular and plural and dative singular and plural. The same dialectal variation is also found in the *o*-stem nominative plural, which is etymologically *-ōs, spelt with <us> in the Tabula Bantina, but with both <us> and <ús> in the Oscan alphabet. Since the analogical creation of ablative singular /od/ and nominative plural /os/ seems to be restricted to areas further north, and the Tabula Bantina shows /ud/ and /us/ respectively, it is reasonable to assume that speakers of Oscan in Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily had an ablative singular in /ud/ and a nominative plural in /us/.

Genitive plurals are not included in the table. In the *o*-stems, the genitive plural was originally **-ōm* (cf. e.g. Gk. -ων), but it is possible that in consonant-stems the ending was **-om* (Sihler 1995: 254–5).²⁴ If this is the case, three scenarios are possible: the distinction between **-ōm* and **-om* in different noun classes was maintained in Proto-Italic; the original *o*-stem ending **-ōm* was generalised to all noun classes; or the original consonant-stem ending **-om* was generalised to all noun classes. As it happens, none of the other Italic languages are well placed to provide evidence on this point. Since Latin shortened long vowels before **-m* in final syllables (Meiser 1998: 77), it is impossible to tell whether Latin continued **-ōm* or *-om* in genitive plurals. In Umbrian, /u/ < **-ō-* was lowered to /o/ before a nasal (Meiser 1986: 120–22), so it is not possible to tell which was inherited by Umbrian. The distinction between **-ō-* and **-o-* may have been retained before **-m* in South Picene, according to Weiss (1998: 710–14), who argues that the evidence points to a genitive plural **-ōm*, but the data is very restricted, and is susceptible to alternative explanations (note in particular Martzloff 2011, who argues that the South Picene evidence points to a gen. pl. in **-om*).

Nor is the evidence of Oscan written in the Oscan or Latin alphabets of much use. If we assume that Oscan inherited an *o*-stem ending **-ōm* and a consonant-stem ending **-om*, the data is a little surprising. Because of the apparent raising of **-o-* before /m/, for the consonant-stems, we would expect to find a mixture of spellings (<úm> and <um>, <om> and <um>), just as for the accusative singulars in **-om* (on which see p. 56). In fact the data is very meagre, and we only find the <úm> spellings: **fratrúm** (Capua 25/Cp 29), **fratrúm** (Capua 26/Cp 129) ‘of brothers’.²⁵ For the *o*-stems, with the genitive plural in **-ōm*, we might expect to

²⁴ The idea has recently been gaining ground that in Proto-Indo-European there was in fact only one genitive plural ending in all noun classes, which was **-oHom* (> Proto-Italic **-ōm*); the debate is still ongoing, and somewhat acrimonious (see Jasanoff 1983a, 1983b; Kortlandt 1983; Kümmel 2013; Jasanoff 2014). The case for **-om* rests largely on the evidence of Balto-Slavic (although note the analysis of PIE **dḱmtom* ‘hundred’ as ‘(group of) decades’; Clackson 2007: 199). Naturally, if PIE did not have a genitive plural in **-om* at all, it cannot have been inherited by Proto-Italic, and all Proto-Italic genitive plurals must go back to **-ōm*.

²⁵ And possibly **legú** (Teruentum 36/Sa 2), if it is to be read as **legú(m)** (Untermann 2000: 427–8), rather than **legú(túm)** as supposed by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1208).

find a consistent ending /um/ spelt <um> and <úm> in the Oscan and Latin alphabets respectively. Instead what we find is that *o*-stem genitive plurals show a mixture of <um> and <úm>, <um> and <om>, e.g. *perķium* (Capua 5/Cp 41) ‘of the Percii’, *núvlanúm* (Abella 1B.14/Cm 1) ‘of the Nolani’, *zicolom* (Bantia 1.17/Lu 1) ‘of days’, *nesimum* (Bantia 1.17/Lu 1) ‘nearest’. The use of <úm> and <om> is not restricted to the same area that writes the ablative singular with <úd> (Meiser 1986: 51–2), so will not be part of the analogical shortening that took place in this area. On the face of it, therefore, the mixture of spellings seems to suggest that the *o*-stems had taken over the **-om* of the consonant-stems. However, there is an alternative possibility, which is that **-ōm* did give /um/, but that the spelling as <úm> or <om> is a hypercorrection by analogy with the accusative singular /om/. This accusative singular was realised as [um], but its ‘correct’ (etymological) spelling was <úm>, <om>, so the genitive plural, which was also realised as [um], since it was phonemically /um/, might also have come to be written with <úm>, <om>. In this case, the genitive plural of the consonant-stems could equally well be **-ōm*. Consequently, the Oscan and Latin alphabet inscriptions do not provide strong evidence for the status of the genitive plural in the *o*- or consonant-stems. The evidence for this and the other case endings involving **-o-* and **-ō-* will be discussed in the Conclusion to this chapter.

Rix (1996: 253–4) claims that original **-ō-* is written in the Greek alphabet with <ου> in initial syllables, but with <o> in non-initial, and hence unstressed, syllables. He argues that ‘[i] testi in alfabeto osco-greco mostrano che il suono in questione al sud era un po’ più aperto in sillabe atone che non in prima sillaba (più precisamente: in sillaba accentuata), ma in ogni caso chiaramente differente dalla *o* breve aperta’ (Rix 1996: 254). This formulation leaves the question open of how Rix expects **-u-*, which he does not discuss at all, to be written; presumably he accepts that **-u-* and **-ō-* had fallen together in terms of quality (as /u/) in Oscan.²⁶ This being the case, it is not clear whether Rix would expect Oscan /u/ < **-u-* to show the same opening as the /u/ that arises by shortening of **-ū-* < **-ō-* in

²⁶ His statement that ‘già in protosabellico una *ō* lunga è diventata molto chiusa, molto vicina alla *u*, da cui però in sudpiceno è ancora separata’ (Rix 1996: 253) seems to imply that this was not the case in Oscan, i.e. that **-ō-* and **-u-* had fallen together there.

non-initial syllables; if he expected it to be restricted only to /u/ < *-ō-, it would have to be assumed that the opening in the south in non-initial syllables had occurred prior to the loss of length in non-initial syllables that occurred relatively early in the whole of Oscan, as far as we can tell (Lejeune 1975: 242–5). Once this loss of length had taken place, there would thus be an additional vowel phoneme in non-initial syllables in the south, since the reflex of original *-ō- would be more open than that of original *-u-, but clearly different from that of *-o- (and all would be short). Since this seems rather a major claim to make on the basis of a small amount of evidence, it seems to me a more reasonable assumption that Rix would also have expected *-u- to be spelt <o> in non-initial syllables (and, presumably, <ou> in initial syllables); but both possible interpretations will be assessed against the data below. The data for the second interpretation is gathered first, in Table 22 and Table 23. To some extent the evidence of the tables supports Rix's claim: the majority of cases of /u/ in non-initial syllables are spelt with <o>. However, <ou> is sometimes used in non-initial syllables (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3, and, very consistently, Buxentum 1/Lu 62). In initial syllables, the picture is much more mixed: although there is a slight preference for <ou>, both <u> and <o> are found.

If we adopt the stricter reading of Rix's claim, and only consider /u/ from original *-ō-, the evidence is somewhat closer to being exceptionless (Table 24 and Table 25): *-ō- is always spelt <ou> in initial syllables; in non-initial syllables, however, although it is spelt <o> everywhere else, Buxentum 1/Lu 62 provides several examples of future imperatives in *-tōd and ablatives in *-ōd being spelt with <ou>, and the Messina inscriptions use <ou> to spell *-ō- in *apellōn-. It would be possible to claim that the Messina inscriptions and Buxentum 1/Lu 62 reflect different dialects from the rest of Lucania and Bruttium, in which opening of unstressed *-ō- had not occurred. This is particularly plausible for the Messina inscriptions, since the Mamertini originally came from Campania or Samnium (see Chapter 4). Alternatively they could be argued to use a more archaic orthography, in which the opening is not represented (orthographic archaism being particularly plausible in a law text like Buxentum 1/Lu 62). However, I am inclined to think that the increased complication that results in our picture of

Vowels

Table 22: /u/ in initial syllables

Inscription	Date	<u>	<ου>	<o>
Metapontum 1/Lu 37	400–375	σ <u>υ</u> π ^a		
Laos 2/Lu 46	c. 330–320			ν <u>ο</u> ψιν (× 2) ν <u>ο</u> ψ(ι)α(ν)
Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47	350–300			ν <u>ο</u> μψις
Potentia 20/ Lu 28	325–275†	ν <u>υ</u> μψδοι (× 2) ν <u>υ</u> [μψδαναι]		
Vibo 7/tLu 7	c. 300–275†		τ <u>ο</u> υρ <u>ε</u> ι <u>ε</u> ις	
Messana 4/ Me 1 & 3	c. 250		ο <u>υ</u> π <u>σ</u> ε <u>ν</u> ς	
Buxentum 1/ Lu 62	300–200		π <u>ο</u> υ <u>ς</u> (× 2) φ <u>ο</u> υ <u>σ</u> τ	
Potentia 40/ Lu 13	250–200		φ <u>λ</u> ο <u>υ</u> σ <u>ο</u> ι	
Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43	Before c. 200	ν <u>υ</u> μψιμ		
Potentia 25/ Lu 21	Either side 200		δ <u>ο</u> υ <u>ν</u> ακ <u>λ</u> ο <u>ι</u> μ	
Potentia 1/ Lu 5	125–100†			π <u>ο</u> κ <u>ι</u> δ(ι <u>η</u> ις)
Potentia 23/ Lu 64	125–100		δ <u>ο</u> υ <u>ν</u> ω <u>ι</u> μ	

^a This form could of course be taken to be either in an initial or a final syllable, but since for Rix the key factor is in fact presence or absence of stress, we would expect vowels in stressed monosyllables to act in the same way as initial syllables of polysyllabic words.

the development of the Oscan vowel system (already discussed above) if we accept this version of Rix's suggestion makes this interpretation unappealing.

What we can say is that, leaving aside Buxentum 1/Lu 62, in which /u/ from any source is spelt <ου> in any position in the word, there are three examples of *-ō- in an initial syllable, all of which are spelt with <ου>. Given the small numbers, this may be a

Data and analysis

Table 23: /u/ in non-initial syllables

Inscription	Date	<ου>	<ο>
Laos 2/Lu 46	c. 330–320		βοθρ <u>ο</u> νι[(ο)ν]
Cosilinum 1/Lu 3	c. 300†		[τανγιν]ο<δ>
Laos 3/Lu 63	c. 300		ορ <u>ο</u> ριες
Vibo 2 /Lu 25	c. 300†		φερ <u>ο</u> ρει
Messana 4/Me 1 & 3	c. 250	α <u>π</u> πε <u>λ</u> λ <u>ο</u> νη	
Messana 5/Me 2	c. 250	α <u>π</u> πε <u>λ</u> λ[ο]ν <u>η</u>	
Messana 7/Me 5	c. 250	[α]π <u>π</u> ε <u>λ</u> λ <u>ο</u> νη <u>ς</u>	
Potentia 44/tLu 1	c. 225		αρρ <u>ο</u> ντι <u>ς</u>
Buxentum 1/Lu 62	300–200	ε <u>σ</u> του <u>δ</u> <ε <u>σ</u> >σ <u>ο</u> υ <u>f</u> <κ>λο <u>π</u> ο <u>υ</u> στ α <u>κ</u> του <u>δ</u> φου <u>ρ</u> ο <u>υ</u> στ hα <u>φ</u> ει <u>τ</u> ου <u>δ</u>]ο <u>υ</u> ς φ <u>α</u> ο <u>υ</u> σ[τ]ο <u>υ</u> στ ιου <u>φ</u> ε <u>τ</u> ου <u>δ</u> τ{αν}αγ <u>γ</u> ιν <u>ο</u> υ <u>δ</u> παν <u>τ</u> ο <u>υ</u> [δ του <u>τ</u>]ει <u>κ</u> ο <u>υ</u> δ	
Crimisa 1/Lu 23	300–200	ε <u>ρ</u> ο <u>υ</u> κ<ι>η<ι>ς	
Potentia 32/Lu 17	300–200		]ο <u>f</u>
Potentia 16/Lu 32	Either side 200		κα <u>π</u> ο <u>ρ</u> ο <u>ι</u> ν <u>ν</u> α[ι]
Potentia 9/Lu 6	200–175		να <u>ν</u> ο <u>ν</u> ις κ <u>φ</u> αι <u>σ</u> το <u>ρ</u> τανγιν <u>ο</u> δ
Potentia 10/Lu 7	200–175		να <u>ν</u> ο <u>ν</u> ις κ <u>φ</u> αι <u>σ</u> το <u>ρ</u> τανγιν <u>ο</u> δ
Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2	c. 150		τανγιν <u>ο</u> δ
Potentia 4/Lu 10	200–100		κ <u>φ</u>]αι <u>σ</u> το <u>ρ</u>
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†		πω <u>μ</u> π <u>ο</u> ν <u>ι</u> ς

Vowels

Table 23: (cont.)

Inscription	Date	<ου>	<ο>
			κεν <u>σ</u> ορ <u>τ</u> α <u>τ</u> ηι
			τα <u>ν</u> γ <u>ι</u> ν <u>ο</u> τ
Cosilinum 2/Lu 40	c. 100		σκ]α <u>λ</u> α <u>π</u> ο <u>ν</u> ι <u>ς</u>
Tegianum 1/Lu 41	100–90		σκα <u>λ</u> α <u>π</u> ο <u>ν</u> ι <u>ς</u>
Potentia 37	No date		]τι <u>ο</u> f

Table 24: /u:/ from *-ō- in initial syllables

Inscription	Date	<ου>	<ο>
Potentia 40/Lu 13	250–200	φ <u>λ</u> ο <u>υ</u> σοι	
Potentia 25/Lu 21	Either side 200	δ <u>ο</u> υ <u>ν</u> ακ <u>λ</u> ο <u>μ</u>	
Potentia 23/Lu 64	125–100	δ <u>ο</u> υ <u>ν</u> ω <u>μ</u>	

Table 25: /u/ from *-ō- in non-initial syllables

Inscription	Date	<ου>	<ο>
Laos 2/Lu 46	c. 330–320		βο <u>θ</u> ρ <u>ο</u> νι[(ο) <u>ν</u>]
Cosilinum 1/Lu 3	c. 300†		[τα <u>ν</u> γ <u>ι</u> ν]ο<δ>
Laos 3/Lu 63	c. 300		ο <u>ρ</u> τ <u>ο</u> ρι <u>ς</u>
Vibo 2/Lu 25	c. 300†		φε <u>ρ</u> σ <u>ο</u> ρ <u>ε</u> ι
Messana 4/Me 1 & 3	c. 250	α <u>π</u> π <u>ε</u> λλ <u>ο</u> υ <u>ν</u> ηι	
Messana 5/Me 2	c. 250	α <u>π</u> π <u>ε</u> λλ[ο] <u>υ</u> ν <u>η</u> ι	
Messana 7/Me 5	c. 250	[α] <u>π</u> π <u>ε</u> λλ <u>ο</u> υ <u>ν</u> η <u>ι</u> ς	
Buxentum 1/Lu 62	300–200	ε <u>σ</u> τ <u>ο</u> υ <u>δ</u> <ε <u>σ</u> >σ <u>ο</u> υ <u>φ</u> α <u>κ</u> τ <u>ο</u> υ <u>δ</u> η <u>α</u> φ <u>ε</u> ι <u>τ</u> ο <u>υ</u> δ ι <u>ο</u> υ <u>φ</u> ε <u>τ</u> ο <u>υ</u> δ τ{αν}α <u>γ</u> γ <u>ι</u> ν <u>ο</u> υ <u>δ</u>	

Data and analysis

Table 25: (*cont.*)

Inscription	Date	<ου>	<ο>
		παν <u>του</u> [δ του <u>τ</u>]ει <u>κου</u> δ	
Potentia 32/Lu 17	300–200		]ο <u>f</u>
Potentia 16/Lu 32	Either side 200		κα <u>πο</u> ρο <u>ιν</u> να[ι]
Potentia 9/Lu 6	200–175		να <u>νο</u> ις κ <u>φ</u> αι <u>στο</u> ρ τα <u>ν</u> γ <u>ιν</u> ο <u>δ</u>
Potentia 10/Lu 7	200–175		να <u>νο</u> ις κ <u>φ</u> αι <u>στο</u> ρ τα <u>ν</u> γ <u>ιν</u> ο <u>δ</u>
Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2	c. 150		τα <u>ν</u> γ <u>ιν</u> ο <u>δ</u>
Potentia 4/Lu 10	200–100		κ <u>φ</u>]αι <u>στο</u> ρ
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†		πω <u>μ</u> π <u>ο</u> ν <u>ις</u> κε <u>ν</u> σ <u>ο</u> ρ <u>τα</u> τ <u>η</u> τα <u>ν</u> γ <u>ιν</u> ο <u>τ</u>
Cosilinum 2/Lu 40	c. 100		σ <u>κ</u>]α <u>λα</u> π <u>ο</u> ν <u>ις</u>
Tegianum 1/Lu 41	100–90		σ <u>κα</u> λα <u>π</u> ο <u>ν</u> ι <u>ς</u>
Potentia 37	No date		]τι <u>ο</u> f

coincidence, but it is also possible that it is because <ου> represented a long vowel in Greek, and was therefore preferred as a way of writing /u:/ < *-ō-. For /u/ < *-u- and from *-ō- in non-initial syllables, the match between Greek and Oscan phonology was not so good, and writers could either choose to use <ου>, which represented something like /u:/ in Greek, and hence was similar in quality but not in length to Oscan /u/, or to use <ο> (/o/ in Greek), which was similar in length but not quality. If this were the case, we would expect a similar pattern for the spelling of /e/ in Oscan, leading to a preference for <ει> for /e:/ in initial syllables. Unfortunately, there is very little evidence for /e:/ in this position, but what there is does not match this prediction: we find <ει> for /e:/ < *-ē- in τρειβιφομ, τρειπκατομ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) and τρειβ[ωμ (Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2), but not in πεηεδ (Potentia 40/Lu 13),

<h>ιππειδ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62), πεηετεις (Potentia 24/Lu 30) or ρεγο(μ) (Potentia 1/Lu 5). Consequently, the relative proportions of <ου> and <ο> may not be meaningful. It may simply be that there was an overall preference for writing /u/ with <ο> in every position, but that some scribes preferred <ου>. It is worth noting that we only have one inscription (Potentia 40/Lu 13) which actually contains the pattern initial-syllable <ου> ~ non-initial-syllable <ο> for /u/ (where the /u/ spelt <ου> comes from *-u-). It is perfectly possible that the scribes of Vibo 7/tLu 7, Potentia 25/Lu 21, and Potentia 23/Lu 64 would have also used <ου> everywhere in the word, with the same consistency shown by Messana 4/Me 1 & 3, Buxentum 1/Lu 62, and Potentia 1/Lu 5, in all of which /u/ is spelt the same in initial and non-initial syllables (<ου> in Buxentum 1/Lu 62 and Messana 4/Me 1 & 3, <ο> in Potentia 1/Lu 5).

Returning to the evidence presented in [Table 21](#), it seems that all three of <υ>, <ου> and <ο> could be used to represent /u/; <ο> seems always to have been in use, while <ου> and <υ> are less frequent (although there are five instances of <ου> in genitive plurals, so this grapheme is less rare than appears from the table; see [Table 30](#)). From the table, it appears that the adoption of <ου> is later than the use of <ο> (the first securely dated example being in Messana 4/Me 1 & 3, c. 250). However, again, we have an early example of <ου> in a genitive plural in ηισου(μ) (Petelia 2, c. 300), and only three inscriptions probably earlier than that, so, given the paucity of our evidence and the fact that <ο> is generally more common than <ου>, we cannot be sure that <ου> was a later spelling than <ο>. The use of <υ> may only be found in earlier inscriptions, although only Metapontum 1/Lu 37 is definitely early; Teuranus Ager 1/ Lu 43 could be as late as 200 BC, and the dating of Potentia 20/Lu 28 is unreliable (perhaps also as late as 200, see p. 177); the dating of Messana 4/Me 1 & 3 and Messana 5/Me 2 is reasonably secure, but, as we shall see, the spelling <ιυ> is to be discounted from the evidence for other reasons. But the possible restriction in dating is not the only way in which use of <υ> may differ from that of <ου> and <ο>, as can be seen from [Table 26](#), which collects all examples of /u/ which come only from *-u-.

Data and analysis

Table 26: *Spelling of /u/ from *-u-*

Inscription	Date	<u>	<ou>	<o>
Metapontum I/Lu 37	400–375	σ <u>υ</u> π		
Laos 2/Lu 46	c. 330–320			νο <u>ψ</u> ιν (× 2) νο <u>ψ</u> (ι)α(ν) νο <u>μ</u> ψις
Thurii Copia I/Lu 47	350–300			
Potentia 20/ Lu 28	325–275†	ν <u>υ</u> μ <u>ψ</u> δοι (× 2) ν <u>υ</u> [μ <u>ψ</u> δαναι]		
Vibo 7/tLu 7	c. 300–275†		τ <u>ου</u> ρειεις	
Messana 4/ Me 1 & 3	c. 250	ν <u>ι</u> μ <u>σ</u> διηις		
Messana 5/ Me 2	c. 250	ν <u>ι</u> μ <u>σ</u> διηις		
Potentia 44/ tLu 1	c. 225			αρρ <u>ον</u> τιες
Buxentum I/ Lu 62	300–200		φ <u>ου</u> στ	
Crimisa I/ Lu 23	300–200		ερ <u>ου</u> κ<i>ι>η<i>ι>ς	
Teuranus Ager I/Lu 43	Presumably before c. 200	ν <u>υ</u> μ <u>ψ</u> ιμ		
Potentia I/ Lu 5	125–100†			π <u>ο</u> κιδ(ιηις)

At first sight, the distribution of the use of <u>, <ou> and <o> to reflect /u/ < *-u- looks the same as that for /u/ < *-ō-, *-u-: all three graphemes are found. However, it will be noticed that in fact <u> is used only when /u/ comes from *-u-, never from *-ō-. Furthermore, all uses of <u> reflect *-u- after a dental consonant (in our examples, /n/ or /s/). Although the evidence is relatively small, this distribution is striking because it fits precisely a similar feature of Oscan written in the Oscan alphabet, where original *-u- is usually written <iu> after a dental

consonant.²⁷ Presumably this reflects the insertion of a palatal glide between a dental and *-u- (Buck 1928: 40). Lejeune (1970: 296–9) had already noted that <υ> corresponds to <iu>. As already discussed above (p. 33), he argued that <υ> represented different sounds at different times, originally writing the pre-glide insertion stage [u] and later reflecting [y], which was the result of intermediate developments of [u] > [ju] > [jy]. He proposed that the first stage [u] was to be seen in σϣπ (Metapontum 1/Lu 37), and the last stage [y] in νυμψιμ (Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43), with the intermediate stage [jy] being found in νυμσδιης (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3, Messana 5/Me 2). But this picture is doubtful, for various reasons.

Firstly, I suspect that the unique use of <ιυ> in the Messina inscriptions is a spelling influenced by the orthographic norms of the Oscan alphabet (Messina was captured by Oscan-speakers from Campania in the third century BC; for other evidence of this influence see pp. 137–41), so they should be considered separately with regard to this sound. Secondly, the big chronological gap between Metapontum 1/Lu 37 and Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43 imagined by Lejeune (1970: 299) is now smaller, since Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43 is now to be dated to before c. 200 BC (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1478). Thirdly, the glide insertion took place fairly early in the history of Oscan, on the basis of both the inscriptional record and relative chronology (Zair 2014b). Glide insertion is already found in Bouianum 116/Sa 27, c. 325 BC, and in the fourth-century inscriptions from Capua which use the unreformed alphabet (Capua 7/Cp 16, Capua 14/Cp 26). It must also have taken place prior to shortening of non-initial vowels in Oscan, since its restriction to original *-u-, as demonstrated by e.g. **dunúm** (Teruentum 20/Sa 24) < *dōnom, **numneís** (Aufidena 1/Sa 17) < *nōmeneīs, also applied in non-initial syllables, e.g. **regatureí** (Teruentum 34 A.12, B.15/Sa 1)

²⁷ This is only actually attested after /d/, /t/, /s/, /n/, so although we might expect this phenomenon also to take place after /r/, it is possible that it did not. Therefore, it is not certain whether we should expect it to have taken place in ερουκ<ι>η<ι>ς (Crimisa 1/Lu 23) and αρροντιες (Potentia 44/tLu 1). For a collection of all examples of <iu> after a dental see Zair (2014b).

< **regātōreĭ*, *līkītud* (Abella I B.10–11/Cm 1) < **likētōd*.²⁸

Since long vowels are represented with doubling of letters in the Oscan alphabet only in initial syllables, it is reasonable to assume that this shortening occurred before our earliest texts (Lejeune 1975: 244–5). Neither of these criteria completely rules out the possibility that συπ in Metapontum 1/Lu 37 of 400–375 dates to before the glide insertion rule, since it is earlier than any inscriptions containing dental plus *-u- in the Oscan alphabet, and since vowel shortening could have taken place between c. 400–375 and the last quarter of the third century, or it could have taken place later in Lucania than further north. The inscriptions in the Greek alphabet almost never use vowel-letter doubling to represent long vowels (see pp. 156–9), so they provide no evidence regarding vowel length in non-initial syllables. However, there is no good reason to assume that the inscriptions in the Greek alphabet reflect a situation different from those in the Oscan alphabet in this regard.

Overall, therefore, it seems reasonable to suppose, in the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, that there was no change of the value of <υ>, *contra* Lejeune. What, then, was the value of this letter? In Attic Greek, which was the basis of the koine, <υ> represented /y/, which had developed early from *-u- (Thumb, Kieckers and Scherer 1932–1959: 2.291); in Ionic the development of /u/ to /y/ may not yet have occurred in Euboea and its Italian colonies in the fifth century, although it seems to have happened earlier in East Ionic (Thumb, Kieckers and Scherer 1932–1959: 2.251; Schwyzer 1959: 182–3). The development to /y/ never happened in some Doric dialects (notably Laconian; Thumb, Kieckers and Scherer 1932–1959: 1.82), and at an early stage at least had not happened in Achaean (Thumb, Kieckers and Scherer 1932–1959: 1.230), which was the dialect of Metapontum’s colonisers. This may suggest that <υ> still had the value /u/ at the beginning of the fourth century, when Metapontum 1/Lu 37 was written. However, we cannot be certain

²⁸ In principle, it could have occurred also before the falling together in terms of quality of *-ō- and *-u- in Oscan, in which case glide insertion would be even earlier, and this falling together would not be a shared development with Umbrian, as usually assumed. But it is not necessary to postulate this more radical situation to explain the observed facts.

which Greek dialects the writer of this inscription may have been aware of, and how far the development of /u/ to /y/ had spread across the dialects by this time. Consequently it is possible that <u> in συπ could represent either Oscan /u/ or [y]. By the time of Potentia 20/Lu 28 (which may be somewhat later than the dating given by Crawford *et al.* 2011) and Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43, it is much more likely that <u> is being used with the koine value [y].

It seems more than coincidental that the restriction of the use of <u> to after dentals in all inscriptions correlates with the (almost) invariable spelling of *-u- after a dental as <iu> in the Oscan alphabet. This spelling suggests a value [ju], a monomoraic syllabic nucleus which moved from high front non-rounded to high back rounded. Since the value of <u> when writing (Attic, koine and perhaps Ionic) Greek was the high front rounded /y/, <u> might not have been a bad choice to represent [ju]. Alternatively, /u/ may actually have become [y] (perhaps via [ju]) after a dental, in which case <u> would have exactly the same value when used to write Oscan as it had for writing Greek. I prefer the second possibility, because although [y] is close to [ju], the latter sound could have been even more accurately rendered by a spelling such as <io> or <iou>, which we do not find (a spelling beginning with <i> being restricted to the inscriptions from Messina, where, as already mentioned, influence from the Oscan alphabet is likely). There is some very slim evidence for a value [y] in an inscription written in the Oscan alphabet in the form **eitiv(ad)** (Aufidena 2/Sa 18, c. 125–100 BC). As suggested by von Planta (1892–1897: 1.126), this may be using <i> to represent [y], but it could also be a mistake, or an abbreviation of **eiti(u)v(ad)**.²⁹ Slightly stronger evidence is the spelling of /u/ after a dental with both <i> and <u> in the Tabula Bantina, which I argue represents a sound [y] (Zair 2014b).³⁰ Either way, it is reasonable to assume that [ju]

²⁹ Von Planta (1892–1897: 1.125–8) supposes that the spelling <iu> in the native alphabet is most likely also to represent /y/ rather than /ju/. I do not think that this can be the case, at least at first, since the gemination of the preceding consonant in **pettiur** shows that there must have been a stage with a glide (as noted by Lejeune 1970: 268).

³⁰ There may have been a phoneme /y(:)/, if this was the result of *-ū- (see Figure 1 Note); we do not have any examples of this phoneme in the Greek alphabet. On the basis of the use of <u> to write [y], it seems plausible that it would be written with <u> (only).

Conclusion

or [y] was still an allophone of /u/ since its appearance was completely phonetically predictable; consequently, while some scribes used a separate letter <υ> to reflect this sound, it was still open to others to use the usual graphemes <ο> or <ου> of the phoneme /u/, as we see in νοψιν (× 2), νοψ(ι)α(ν) (Laos 2/Lu 46), νομψις (Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47), τουρειεις (Vibo 7/tLu 7). I conclude that the use of <υ> is restricted to cases where original *-u- followed a dental, and it represents [y] (less likely [ju]), an allophone of the phoneme /u/. It was not universally used; some scribes preferred to use the usual graphemes for the phoneme /u/ <ου> and <ο> even where the allophone [y] was found.

Conclusion

We have seen that Lejeune's picture of the orthography of Oscan vowels in the Greek alphabet, followed by other scholars, which involved a fairly fixed system obeyed by most writers, and which underwent a reform around 300 BC, no longer fits the available data. Rather, we find a great range of spellings for the vowels /e/, /o/ and /u/ and the diphthong /εi/, both across the whole time period and within individual inscriptions. The possible spellings for each vowel are given in Table 27. In the rest of the conclusion I show how the orthography of vowels improves our understanding of

Table 27: *Spelling of Oscan vowels in the Greek alphabet*

	Spelling 1	Spelling 2	Spelling 3
/i/	<ι>		
/e/	<ι>	<ε>	<ει>
/ε/	<ε>		
/εi/	<ει> (perhaps not C1st)	<ηι>	
/a/	<α>		
/o/	<ο>	<ω> (from C3rd)	
/u/	<ου>	<ο>	<υ> (only [y] < *-u- after dental)

Oscan nominal morphology, and leads to the identification of possible dialect variation in Oscan, and I discuss further what we can conclude from the variation in spelling.

Nominal endings

The conclusions about the orthography of Oscan vowels in the Greek alphabet summarised in Table 27 allow us to re-approach some of the more problematic areas of Oscan nominal morphology discussed earlier. Thus, if we look at all our instances of the *o*-stem dative singular in **-ōi* in Table 28, we see that it is written both <οι> and <ωι>. We know that <ο> can be used to write either /o/ or /u/, so the forms in <οι> do not provide any evidence, but <ω> cannot represent anything except /o/. The spelling with <ωι> therefore confirms that, for the writer of Potentia 23/Lu 64, at least, the ending was /oi/. This fits with the evidence of the inscriptions in the Oscan alphabet, which largely show <úí>. Note that, although the only positive evidence for /oi/ comes from Potentia 23/Lu 64, there is also negative evidence in that we have six inscriptions containing eleven cases of the dative singular, none of which are spelt <ουι>, which would be a possible spelling if the ending were /ui/.

Table 28: *o*-stem dative singulars

Inscription	Date	<ο>	<ω>
Potentia 19/Lu 36	325–275†	με <u>φ</u> ι <u>τ</u> αν <u>ο</u> ι	
Potentia 20/Lu 28	325–275†	νυ <u>μ</u> ψ <u>δ</u> οι με <u>φ</u> ι <u>τ</u> αν <u>ο</u> ι μα <u>μ</u> ερ <u>τ</u> οι	
Potentia 21/Lu 29	250–200	κ <u>η</u> ο <u>μ</u> οι νυ <u>μ</u>]ψ <u>δ</u> οι	
Potentia 40/Lu 13	250–200	φ <u>α</u> τ[ο <u>φ</u>] <u>ο</u> ι δ <u>ι</u> ο <u>φ</u> ι <u>ο</u> ι φ <u>λ</u> ου <u>σ</u> οι	
Potentia 18	225–200	μα]μ <u>ε</u> ρ <u>τ</u> οι	
Potentia 23/Lu 64	125–100		η <u>ε</u> ρ <u>ε</u> κ <u>λ</u> ωι

Conclusion

Table 29: *Accusative singulars*

Inscription	Date	<ο>	<ω>
Laos 2/Lu 46	c. 330–320	οψι <u>ον</u> (× 2) μεδεκ <u>ον</u> (× 2) οψι <u>ον</u> (× 2) σαβιδι <u>ον</u>	
Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47	350–300	]ι <u>ου</u> ελ[Ϝ]ι <u>ου</u>	
Vibo 2/Lu 25	c. 300†	ταυρο <u>ου</u>	
Anxia 1/Lu 39	300–250		ρολλοη <u>ου</u> σοροϜ <u>ου</u> καπιδιτ <u>ου</u> βρατ <u>ου</u>
Crimisa 3/Lu 44	300–250	κερρι <u>ου</u> <h>ορι <u>ου</u>	
Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43	Presumably before c. 200	αλαφι <u>ου</u>	
Potentia 6/Lu 9	Either side 200		]μων <u>ου</u>
Potentia 8/Lu 9	Either side 200		]τ <u>ου</u>
Potentia 25/Lu 21	Either side 200	δουνακλ <u>ου</u>	
Potentia 23/Lu 64	125–100		δουν <u>ου</u>

It will be remembered that etymological **-om*, in infinitives and in the *o*- and consonant-stem accusative singular, is found spelt both <úm> and <um> in the Oscan alphabet, and <om> and <um> in the Tabula Bantina. However, as Table 29 shows, in the Greek alphabet, as with the dative singular, we find the vowel spelt with <ο> and <ω> (this time with a greater number of examples). Since <ο> can reflect /u/, this could be seen as parallel with the situation in the other alphabets: the spellings with <ωμ> reflect /om/, while <ομ> reflects the phonetic raising of /o/ in this context, giving [um]. However, it is once again striking, if this is the case, that we find no examples of <ουμ>, which would be equally possible.

The lack of <ουμ> in the accusative singulars is particularly striking when compared with what we find in the genitive plurals.

Table 30: *Genitive plurals*

Inscription	Date	<ο>	<ου>
Petelia 2	c. 300	σολλο <u>μ</u>	ηισου(μ)
Messana 1/nMe 1a–b	c. 225		μαμερτινου <u>μ</u>
Lucani 1/nLu 1	207–204	λουκανο <u>μ</u>	
Buxentum 1/Lu 62	300–200		πονδιου[μ]
Messana 2/tMe 1	Perhaps before c. 200		μαμερτινου <u>μ</u>
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†	ρεγο(μ)	
Tauriani 1/tLu 13	c. 100		ταυριανου <u>μ</u>

In [Table 30](#) we find five examples of spelling with <ου>, which must reflect [um], and no examples of <ωμ>.

It seems to me that there is enough evidence to suggest that the correlation is meaningful between accusative singular **-om* (which is spelt with <ο> and <ω>, but never with <ου>) and the genitive plural, which may in theory come from **-om* or **-ōm* (but which is spelt with <ο> and <ου>, but never <ω>). From this we can conclude, firstly, that the inscriptions in the Greek alphabet show no evidence for raising of /o/ to [u] before /m/ in the accusative singular, unlike the inscriptions in the Oscan alphabet, and the Tabula Bantina; and secondly, that **-om* is ruled out as a possible ending of the genitive plurals, which can only come from **-ōm*. This is important for the origin of the genitive plural in Proto-Italic, for which these forms now provide the only reliable evidence. Of the forms given in [Table 30](#), all but ηισου(μ) and ρεγο(μ) are *o*-stems, and consequently we must reconstruct **-ōm* for these, which rules out the possibility that original consonant-stem **-om* had spread to the *o*-stems. Unfortunately, neither ηισου(μ) nor ρεγο(μ) provide useful evidence regarding what to reconstruct as the consonant-stem ending. Although it ultimately goes back to a Proto-Indo-European paradigm which was largely, if not entirely, athematic (Weiss 2009: 339–42; Dupraz 2012: 294–300), the paradigm of the demonstrative pronoun ηισου(μ) was remodelled after the thematic stems in Oscan in all

Conclusion

Table 31: *Ablative singulars*

Inscription	Date	<ου>	<ο>
Cosilinum 1/Lu 3	c. 300†		[τανγιν]ο<δ>
Buxentum 1/Lu 62	300–200	<τ>{αν}αγγιν <u>ου</u> δ παν <u>του</u> [δ τουτ]ξικ <u>ου</u> δ	
Potentia 9/Lu 6	200–175		τανγιν <u>ο</u> δ
Potentia 10/Lu 7	200–175		τανγιν <u>ο</u> δ
Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2	c. 150		τανγιν <u>ο</u> δ
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†		τανγιν <u>ο</u> τ

parts of the paradigm outside the nominative singular masculine and the nominative singular and accusative singular neuter.³¹ Consequently, if a genitive plural **eĩsom* ever existed, it is quite likely that it would have been remodelled to **eĩsōm* after the thematic genitive plural. In the case of $\rho\epsilon\gamma\omicron(\mu)$, since <ο> could be used for both /o/ and /u/, we cannot tell whether it goes back to **-om* or **-ōm*. To answer this question, we must hope for the discovery of an inscription containing the genitive plural of a consonant-stem written with <ω> or <ου>.

As expected (see p. 66), there is no sign of analogical shortening of **-ō-* in the *o-* and consonant-stem ablative singulars in **-ōd* (Table 31). Although there are spellings with <ου> in only one inscription, the lack of examples of <ω> suggests that the cases with <ο> also represent /u/.

Possible examples of *o*-stem nominative plurals in our corpus are $\pi\alpha\phi\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$ (Petelia 2) and $\delta\iota\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2); although it is, in my view, more likely that these are indeed Oscan nominative plurals, it cannot be ruled out that some or all of them are Greek nominative singulars. Even if these are Oscan forms, the use of <ο> does not allow us to tell whether it comes from **-os* or **-ōs*.

³¹ E.g. acc. sg. m. *ionc* (Bantia 1.12/Lu 1) < **eĩomke*, gen. sg. *eĩseĩs* (Abella 1 A.17/Cm 1), abl. sg. *eĩsucen* (Bantia 1.16/Lu 1) < **eĩsōdkeen*, loc. sg. *eĩzeic* (Bantia 1.7/Lu 1) < **eĩseĩke*, nom. pl. *iusc* (Bantia 1.20/Lu 1) < **eĩōske*, abl. pl. *eĩzois* (Bantia 1.23/Lu 1).

Dialect variation

The evidence analysed here has suggested two possible cases of dialectal variation in the inscriptions in the Greek alphabet.

- a) The use of <υ> to represent *-u- after a dental consonant suggests a realisation [y] in this environment. A similar development is found in the Tabula Bantina, where the same sound is written with both <i> and <u>. Thus the inscriptions from South Italy written in the Greek and Latin alphabets may differ from those from Central Italy written in the Oscan alphabet, where *-u- after a dental consonant is written <iu>, perhaps representing [ju]. For further details on this point see Zair (2014b).
- b) The inscriptions in the Greek alphabet do not show any evidence of rounding/raising of /o/ before *-m, unlike those in the Oscan and Latin alphabets.

Orthographic variation

For many of the vowels and diphthongs represented here, there were at least two variants which were in use throughout the time period covered by our inscriptions. In the case of <ου> for /u/ and, more probably, <ω> for /o/, these may only have been introduced around 300 BC, although given the relatively small number of inscriptions available to us prior to this date, it is possible that further evidence may emerge showing their existence earlier. Although certain spellings may have been more popular than others, there is no evidence that one spelling ever ousted the other across the whole of the south, nor did the introduction (if that is what it was) of <ου> and <ω> oust the alternative spellings. Not only did this variation exist across our corpus, it existed within inscriptions as well. From Table 32 it can be seen that, of ten inscriptions which have more than one example of /e/, six (highlighted in bold) spell it in two or more ways, of which three use all three spellings.

Of eight inscriptions with more than one instance of /u/, two (highlighted in bold) spell it in both possible ways, as demonstrated in Table 33 (Petelia 2 is included in the table because it spells its two *o*-stem genitive plurals differently; for the genitive plural in /um/ < *-ōm, see above).

Conclusion

Table 32: *Variation in spelling of /e/*

Inscription	Date	<ι>	<ει>	<ε>
Laos 2/ Lu 46	c. 330–320		μαρα <u>ειν</u>	με <u>δε</u> κον (× 3) με <u>δε</u> κ <u>αν</u>
Petelia 2	c. 300	πι <u>σ</u> πι <u>τ</u> ι <u>(ν)</u> ι <u>μ</u> κα <u>ι</u> δι <u>κ</u> ω κα <u>ι</u> δι <u>κ</u> ι <u>ς</u>		α <u>φ</u> ε <u>ς</u>
Potentia 24/ Lu 30	325–275			νε <u>τε</u> φ <u>ς</u> πε <u>η</u> ε <u>τε</u> φ <u>ς</u>
Numistro 1/ Lu 4	300–275	με <u>δ</u> δι <u>κ</u> εν		σου <u>φ</u> εν με <u>δ</u> δι <u>κ</u> εν
Anxia 1/ Lu 39	300–250		ει <u>ν</u> (ει <u>μ</u>) λει <u>κ</u> ει <u>τ</u> λιο {κ <u>α</u> } κ <u>ει</u> τ μ <u>ει</u> α <u>ι</u>	
Messana 4/ Me 1 & 3	c. 250		με <u>δ</u> δε <u>ι</u> ς ει <u>ν</u> ει <u>μ</u>	
Messana 5/ Me 2	c. 250		ει <u>ν</u> ει <u>μ</u>	
Buxentum 1/Lu 62	300–200	πο <u>κ</u>]κα <u>π</u> ι <u>δ</u> (× 2) πο <u>κ</u> κα <u>π</u> ι <u>δ</u> ια <u>φ</u> <h>ι <u>π</u> ει <u>δ</u> ου <u>π</u> ι <u>δ</u> πι <u>ς</u>	τ <u>ρ</u> ει <u>π</u> κα <u>το</u> μ με <u>δ</u> ει <u>κ</u> α[τε <u>ν</u> τ <u>ρ</u> ει <u>β</u> ι <u>φο</u> μ η <u>α</u> φ <u>ει</u> του <u>δ</u> <h>ι <u>π</u> ει <u>δ</u> ει <u>ν</u> ε <u>μ</u> του <u>τ</u> ει <u>κ</u> αι <u>ς</u> ει <u>ο</u> κ (× 2) του <u>τ</u>]ει <u>κ</u> ου <u>δ</u> ι ι ε <u>δ</u> ει <u>στ</u>	με δ <u>δ</u> ε <u>ς</u> ει <u>ν</u> ε <u>μ</u> με <u>δ</u> δε <u>ς</u> ιου <u>φ</u> ε <u>το</u> υ <u>δ</u> με δ <u>δ</u> ε <u>ς</u>
Potentia 40/ Lu 13	250–200	αυ <u>τ</u> ι	α <u>φ</u> α <u>κ</u> ει <u>τ</u>	με <u>τ</u> σε <u>δ</u> πε <u>η</u> ε <u>δ</u> πλα <u>μ</u> ε <u>το</u> δ
Potentia 1/ Lu 5	125–100†	ει <u>ζ</u> ι <u>δο</u> μ αι <u>ζ</u> ι <u>νω</u> κω <u>σ</u> (τ)ι <u>τ</u>	ει <u>ν</u> (ει <u>μ</u>) ει <u>ζ</u> ι <u>δο</u> μ	ρε <u>γ</u> ο(μ)

Vowels

Table 33: *Variation in spelling of /u/*

Inscription	Date	<ου>	<ο>
Petelia 2	c. 300	η<u>ι</u>σ<u>ου</u>(μ)	σ<u>ο</u>λλ<u>ο</u>μ
Messana 4/Me 1 & 3	c. 250	ου <u>π</u> σ <u>ε</u> ν <u>ς</u> α <u>π</u> π <u>ε</u> λλ <u>ου</u> νη <u>ι</u>	
Buxentum 1/ Lu 62	300–200	π <u>ου</u> ς (× 2) ε <u>σ</u> τ <u>ου</u> δ <ε <u>σ</u> >σ <u>ου</u> f <κ>λ <u>ο</u> τ <u>ου</u> στ α <u>κ</u> τ <u>ου</u> δ φ <u>ου</u> ρ <u>ου</u> στ η <u>α</u> φ <u>ει</u> τ <u>ου</u> δ <τ>{αν}α <u>γ</u> γ <u>ι</u> ν <u>ου</u> δ]ου <u>ς</u> φ <u>α</u> φ <u>ου</u> σ[τ]ου <u>στ</u> φ <u>ου</u> στ π <u>αν</u> τ <u>ου</u> [δ ι <u>ου</u> φ <u>ε</u> τ <u>ου</u> δ τ <u>ου</u> τ]ε <u>ι</u> κ <u>ου</u> δ]ου <u>δ</u>]τ <u>ου</u> δ π <u>ο</u> ν <u>δι</u> ου[μ	
Potentia 40/ Lu 13	250–200	η<u>ι</u>ου<u>σ</u>ο<u>ι</u>	π<u>λ</u>α<u>μ</u>ε<u>τ</u>ο<u>δ</u>
Potentia 9/Lu 6	200–175		να <u>ν</u> ο <u>ν</u> ι <u>ς</u> κ <u>φ</u> αι <u>σ</u> το <u>ρ</u> τα <u>ν</u> γ <u>ι</u> ν <u>ο</u> δ
Potentia 10/Lu 7	200–175		να <u>ν</u> ο <u>ν</u> ι <u>ς</u> κ <u>φ</u> αι <u>σ</u> το <u>ρ</u> τα <u>ν</u> γ <u>ι</u> ν <u>ο</u> δ
Atina Lucana 1/ Lu 2	c. 150		τα <u>ν</u> γ <u>ι</u> ν <u>ο</u> δ
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†		πω <u>μ</u> π <u>ρ</u> ο <u>ν</u> ι <u>ς</u> κε <u>ν</u> σ <u>ο</u> ρ <u>τ</u> α <u>τ</u> η <u>ι</u> π <u>ο</u> κ <u>ι</u> δ(ι <u>η</u> ι <u>ς</u>) τα <u>ν</u> γ <u>ι</u> ν <u>ο</u> τ

Conclusion

Of sixteen inscriptions which have more than one example of /o/, six (highlighted in bold) spell it both possible ways (Table 34). I have included accusative singulars in /om/ (see above).

Homography was also not avoided. Of eleven inscriptions which show both /e/ and /ei/, one (highlighted in bold) uses <ει> for both /e/ and /ei/ (Table 35; the columns with the spelling <ει> have been placed next to each other for ease of comparison).

Table 34: *Variation in spelling of /o/*

Inscription	Date	<ο>	<ω>
Laos 2/Lu 46	c. 330–320	οψιον (× 2) λοικιν μεδεκον (× 2) σαβιδιον	
Buxentum 3/Lu 45	400–300	πολλ[ιε]ς φοινι[κις]	
Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47	350–300	λοικ(ις) λοικες]ιομ ελ[φ]ομ	
Petelia 2	c. 300	ολλομ πακολ καφνοτο στατιο εμαυτο μινα<τ>ο (× 2) αυδα<φ>ο νοφιο	πακφιω και{αι}δ<ι>ω στατιω καιδικω τρε<β>ω αλαφιω σκαφιρω βαντινω κωσσανω
Potentia 20/Lu 28	325–275†	οιναι νυμφδοι μεφτανοι μαμερττοι	
Anxia 1/Lu 39	300–250		πτω κω[ρο] φολλοηωμ σοροφωμ καπιδιτωμ

Vowels

Table 34: (cont.)

Inscription	Date	<ο>	<ω>
Crimisa 3/Lu 44	300–250	πρ <u>ο</u> πεδ[ι(ο)μ] πο <u>λ</u> λι <u>ε</u> ς κερρ <u>ι</u> νο <u>μ</u> <h>ορ <u>ι</u> ο <u>μ</u>	βρα <u>τ</u> ω <u>μ</u>
Messana 4/Me 1 & 3	c. 250	π <u>ο</u> μ <u>π</u> τι <u>ε</u> ς τ <u>ω</u> ρ <u>τ</u> ο μα <u>μ</u> ερ <u>τ</u> ι <u>ν</u> ο σα <u>κ</u> ο <u>ρ</u> ο	τ <u>ω</u> ρ <u>τ</u> ο
Messana 5/Me 2	c. 250	μα <u>μ</u> ερ <u>τ</u> ι <u>ν</u> ο σα <u>κ</u> ο <u>ρ</u> ο	τ <u>ω</u> <ρ>τ[ο]
Buxentum 1/Lu 62	300–200	<κ>λ <u>ο</u> που <u>σ</u> τ π <u>ρ</u> ο <u>ι</u> α[δ π <u>ο</u> ν <u>δ</u> ιου[μ σε <u>ρ</u> ευ]κι <u>δ</u> ι <u>μ</u> ο ει <u>ο</u> κ (× 2) του <u>τ</u> ει <u>κ</u> αι <u>ς</u>	
Potentia 21/Lu 29	250–200	κ <u>η</u> ο <u>μ</u> ο <u>ι</u> νυ <u>μ</u>]ψ <u>δ</u> ο <u>ι</u>	
Potentia 40/Lu 13	250–200	φ <u>α</u> τ[ο <u>ρ</u>]ο <u>ι</u> δ <u>ι</u> ο <u>ρ</u> ο <u>ι</u> φ <u>λ</u> ο <u>σ</u> ο <u>ι</u>	
Potentia 10/Lu 7	200–175	δ <u>ι</u> ο <u>μ</u> α <u>ν</u> α[ς]	λ <u>ω</u> ρ <u>κ</u> ι <u>ς</u>
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†	στα <u>β</u> α <u>λ</u> α <u>ν</u> ο σε <u>γ</u> ο <u>ν</u> ω	π <u>ω</u> μ <u>π</u> ο <u>ν</u> ι <u>ς</u> π <u>ω</u> μ <u>φ</u> ο <u>κ</u> (<u>ι</u> αι) π <u>ρ</u> ω <u>φ</u> α <u>τ</u> ε <u>δ</u> κ <u>ω</u> σ(<u>τ</u>)ι <u>τ</u> σε <u>γ</u> ο <u>ν</u> ω αι <u>ζ</u> ν <u>ι</u> ω <ο>π <u>σ</u> α <u>ν</u> ω λ <u>ω</u> ρ <u>κ</u> (<u>ι</u> η <u>ι</u> ς)
Potentia 23/Lu 64	125–100		δου <u>ν</u> ω <u>μ</u> η <u>ε</u> ρε <u>κ</u> λ <u>ω</u> ι λ <u>ω</u> ρ <u>κ</u> τι <u>η</u> ι <u>ς</u>
Cosilinum 2/Lu 40	c. 100	ο <u>π</u> τι <u>ε</u> ς ε <u>κ</u> ο	π <u>ι</u> ω

Table 35: Homography of /e/ and /ei/

Inscription	Date	/e/ <ι>	/e/ <ε>	/e/ <ει>	/ει/ <ει>	/ει/ <ηι>
Petelia 2	c. 300	π <u>ι</u> σπ <u>ι</u> τ ι <u>ι</u> (ν <u>ι</u>)μ κα <u>ι</u> δ <u>ι</u> κ <u>ω</u> κα <u>ι</u> δ <u>ι</u> κ <u>ι</u> ς	α <u>φ</u> ε <u>ς</u>			ε <u>τ</u> /η <u>ι</u> ς η <u>ι</u> σου(μ)
Anxia 1/Lu 39	300–250			ει <u>ν</u> (ει <u>μ</u>) λ <u>ει</u> κ <u>ει</u> τ λιο {κα} κ <u>ει</u> τ μ <u>ει</u> αι		μ]α <u>χ</u> ερ <u>η</u> ι
Messana 4/Me 1 & 3	c. 250			με <u>δ</u> δ <u>ει</u> ξ ει <u>ν</u> ει <u>μ</u>		στα <u>τ</u> τι <u>η</u> ις νι <u>υ</u> μ <u>σ</u> δι <u>η</u> ις α <u>π</u> π <u>ε</u> λλ <u>ο</u> υ <u>ν</u> η <u>ι</u>
Messana 5/Me 2	c. 250			ει <u>ν</u> ει <u>μ</u>		σ]τα <u>τ</u> τι <u>η</u> ις νι <u>υ</u> μ <u>σ</u> δι <u>η</u> ις α <u>π</u> π <u>ε</u> λλ[ο]υ <u>ν</u> η <u>ι</u>
Buxentum 1/Lu 62	300–200	πο <u>κ</u>]κα <u>π</u> ι <u>δ</u> (× 2) πο <u>κ</u> κα <u>π</u> ι <u>δ</u> ια <u>φ</u> <h>ι <u>π</u> ει <u>δ</u> ου <u>π</u> ι <u>δ</u> π <u>ι</u> ς	με]δ <u>δ</u> ε <u>ς</u> ει <u>ν</u> ει <u>μ</u> με <u>δ</u> δ <u>ε</u> ς ιου <u>φ</u> ε <u>τ</u> ου <u>δ</u> με]δ <u>δ</u> ε[ς	τ <u>ρ</u> ει <u>π</u> κα <u>το</u> μ μ <u>ε</u> δ <u>ει</u> κα[τε <u>ν</u> τ <u>ρ</u> ει <u>β</u> ι <u>φο</u> μ hα <u>φ</u> ει <u>το</u> υ <u>δ</u> <h>ι <u>π</u> ει <u>δ</u> ει <u>ν</u> ει <u>μ</u> του <u>τ</u> ει <u>κ</u> αι <u>ς</u>	ει <u>σ</u> ει <u>ς</u>]υ <u>κ</u> ει <u>ς</u>	

Table 35: (cont.)

Inscription	Date	/e/ <ι>	/e/ <ε>	/e/ <ει>	/ει/ <ει>	/ει/ <ηι>
				<u>ειοκ</u> (× 2) <u>τουτ</u>] <u>εικουδ</u>]ι[<u>ι</u>] <u>εδεισ</u> τ		
Potentia 12/Lu 27	300–200	τι <u>ι</u> τιδies				διο <u>φ</u> ηι
Potentia 17/Lu 15	300–200	τι <u>ι</u> τιδies				οκ(ι)η <u>ι</u> ς με <u>φ</u> ιτ <u>η</u> ι β[ρ]α{ι}τ <u>η</u> ις
Potentia 40/Lu 13	250–200		με <u>τ</u> σε <u>δ</u> πε <u>η</u> ε <u>δ</u> π <u>λ</u> α <u>μ</u> ε <u>τ</u> ο <u>δ</u>	α <u>φ</u> α <u>κ</u> ει <u>τ</u>		κ <u>λ</u> ο <u>φ</u> α <u>τ</u> η <u>ι</u> ς
Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2	c. 150			τ <u>ρ</u> ει <u>β</u> [ω <u>μ</u>		σε <u>ν</u> α]τ <u>η</u> ις
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†	ει <u>ζ</u> ι <u>δ</u> ο <u>μ</u> αι <u>ζ</u> ν <u>ι</u> ω κ <u>ω</u> σ(τ) <u>ι</u> τ	ρ <u>ε</u> γ <u>ο</u> (μ)	ει <u>ν</u> (ει <u>μ</u>) ει <u>ζ</u> ι <u>δ</u> ο <u>μ</u>		η <u>η</u> ι <u>ρ</u> εν <u>ς</u> η <u>η</u> ι <u>ρ</u> (ει <u>ν</u> ις) κε <u>ν</u> σ <u>ο</u> ρ <u>τ</u> α <u>τ</u> η <u>ι</u> σε <u>ν</u> α <u>τ</u> η <u>ι</u> ς
Cosilinum 2/Lu 40	c. 100		φ <u>α</u> λ <u>ε</u>			πα <u>κ</u> φ <u>η</u> ις

Conclusion

Of twelve inscriptions which contain both /u/ and /o/, six (highlighted in bold) use both <ο> for /u/ and <ο> for /o/ (Table 36).

The homography between /u/ <ου> and tautosyllabic /ou/ <ου> in Buxentum 1/Lu 62 has already been observed (in no other inscription are /u/ and /ou/ spelt the same).

I conclude that it was not generally felt important to establish a consistent one-to-one relationship between a given vowel or diphthong and a given (di-)graph. The frequent variation of spelling for the same phoneme and homographic spelling of different phonemes in individual inscriptions, combined with the observation that different spellings survived alongside each other across the corpus, strengthens the impression that there was no causal relationship between the adoption of different spellings of the sort envisaged by Lejeune, at least at a level beyond individual preference (e.g. <ω> was not adopted because the homography of /u/ <ο> and /o/ <ο> was seen as problematic; <η> was not adopted because of homography between /e/ <ει> and /ei/ <ει>). Moreover, variation (found from c. 300 to 100 BC) and homography (from c. 300 to 90 BC) are not associated with particular time periods, nor with particular genres of text. For example, variation and/or homography are found in Buxentum 1/Lu 62 (a law code, written on bronze), in Potentia 1/Lu 5 (an official inscription commemorating the erection of statues by a magistrate), in Potentia 40/Lu 13 (a private dedication), Petelia 2 (a lead curse tablet) and in Vibo 7/tLu 7 (a stamp).

It seems that, given the frequent occurrence of variation in spelling, which occurs in fourteen inscriptions out of thirty-four (41%) which show more than one example of the same sound, and homography, which appears in eight inscriptions out of twenty-five (32%) in which this would be possible, approaches which view inconsistency as unusual and something to be explained away are on the wrong track. However, there is one case where consistency is found. This is in the use of either <ει> or <η> for /ei/: there is only one possible instance of both being used, which is ΚΟΤΤΕΙΗΣ (Vibo 5/tLu 3). However, <ει> may be representing /e/ here, and even if it is not, there may be a difference in spelling between the heterosyllabic first diphthong /ej/ and the tautosyllabic second diphthong /ei/. Otherwise,

Table 36: Homography of /u/ and /o/

Inscription	Date	/u/ <ου>	/u/ <ο>	/o/ <ο>	/o/ <ω>
Petelia 2	c. 300	η <u>ισ</u> ου(μ)	σο <u>λλο</u> μ	σο <u>λλο</u> μ πα <u>κο</u> λ κα <u>φ</u> νο <u>το</u> στα <u>τιο</u> ε <u>μα</u> υ <u>το</u> μ <u>ι</u> να<τ> <u>ο</u> (× 2) α <u>υ</u> δα<φ> <u>ο</u> νο <u>φ</u> ιο	πα <u>κ</u> φ <u>ι</u> ω και {αι}δ<ι> <u>ω</u> στα <u>τι</u> ω και <u>δι</u> κ <u>ω</u> τρε<β> <u>ω</u> α <u>λα</u> φ <u>ι</u> ω σκα <u>φι</u> ρ <u>ι</u> ω βαν <u>τι</u> ν <u>ω</u> κω <u>σ</u> σαν <u>ω</u>
Vibo 2/Lu 25	c. 300[†]		Φερ<u>σο</u>ρει	τα<u>υ</u>ρο<u>μ</u>	
Messana 4/Me 1 & 3	c. 250	ου <u>π</u> σεν <u>ς</u> α <u>π</u> π <u>ε</u> λλ <u>ο</u> υ <u>νη</u> ι		π <u>ρ</u> ο <u>μ</u> π <u>τι</u> ε <u>ς</u> τω <u>φ</u> το μα <u>μ</u> ερ <u>τι</u> νο σα <u>κ</u> ο <u>ρ</u> ο	
Messana 5/Me 2	c. 250	α <u>π</u> π <u>ε</u> λλ[ο] <u>υ</u> νη <u>ι</u>		μα <u>μ</u> ερ <u>τι</u> νο σα <u>κ</u> ο <u>ρ</u> ο	
Buxentum 1/Lu 62	300–200	π <u>ρ</u> ο <u>υ</u> ς (× 2) ε <u>σ</u> του <u>δ</u> <ε <u>σ</u> >σο <u>υ</u> f <κ>λο <u>π</u> ρο <u>υ</u> στ α <u>κ</u> του <u>δ</u> φου <u>ρ</u> ο <u>υ</u> στ		<κ>λο <u>π</u> ρο <u>υ</u> στ π <u>ρ</u> ο <u>ι</u> α[δ π <u>ρ</u> ο <u>ν</u> διου[μ σε <u>ρ</u> ευ]κι <u>δι</u> μο ει <u>ο</u> κ (× 2) ρε <u>κ</u> ι <u>ν</u> ο <u>μ</u>	

		η <u>α</u> φ <u>ει</u> του <u>δ</u> <τ>{αν}αγγι <u>ν</u> ου <u>δ</u>]ου <u>ς</u> ρ <u>α</u> φ <u>ου</u> σ[τ]ου <u>σ</u> τ φ <u>ου</u> σ <u>τ</u> παν <u>τ</u> ου[δ ιου <u>φ</u> ε <u>τ</u> ου <u>δ</u> του <u>τ</u>]ει <u>κ</u> ου <u>δ</u>]ου <u>δ</u>]του <u>δ</u> πον <u>δ</u> ι <u>ου</u> [μ φ <u>λ</u> ου <u>σ</u> οι		τ <u>ου</u> τ <u>ει</u> και <u>ς</u>	
Potentia 40/Lu 13	250–200		π <u>λ</u> α <u>μ</u> ε <u>τ</u> ο <u>δ</u>	φ <u>α</u> τ[ο <u>φ</u>]ο <u>ι</u> δι <u>ο</u> φ <u>ι</u> ο <u>ι</u> φ <u>λ</u> ου <u>σ</u> ο <u>ι</u>	
Potentia 25/Lu 21	Either side 200	δ <u>ου</u> να <u>κ</u> λο <u>μ</u>		δου <u>να</u> κ <u>λο</u> μ	
Potentia 9/Lu 6	200–175		να <u>ν</u> ο <u>ν</u> ι <u>ς</u> κ <u>φ</u> αι <u>σ</u> το <u>ρ</u> ταν <u>γ</u> ιν <u>ο</u> δ		λ <u>ω</u> φ <u>κ</u> ι <u>ς</u>
Potentia 10/Lu 7	200–175		να <u>ν</u> ο <u>ν</u> ι <u>ς</u> κ <u>φ</u> αι <u>σ</u> το <u>ρ</u> ταν <u>γ</u> ιν <u>ο</u> δ	δι <u>ο</u> μ <u>α</u> να[<u>ς</u>]	λ <u>ω</u> φ <u>κ</u> ι <u>ς</u>

Table 36: (cont.)

Inscription	Date	/u/ <ou>	/u/ <o>	/o/ <o>	/o/ <ω>
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†		π<u>ω</u>μπ<u>ο</u>ν<u>ι</u>ς κε<u>ν</u>σ<u>ο</u>ρ<u>τ</u>α<u>τ</u>η<u>ι</u> π<u>ο</u>κ<u>ι</u>δ<u>ι</u>(<u>ι</u>η<u>ι</u>ς) τ<u>αν</u>γ<u>ι</u>ν<u>ο</u>τ	σ<u>τ</u>α<u>β</u>α<u>λ</u>α<u>ν</u>ο σε<u>γ</u>ο<u>ν</u>ω	π<u>ω</u>μπ<u>ο</u>ν<u>ι</u>ς π<u>ω</u>μ<u>φ</u>ο<u>κ</u>(<u>ι</u>α<u>ι</u>) π<u>ρ</u>ω<u>φ</u>α<u>τ</u>ε<u>δ</u> κ<u>ω</u>σ(<u>τ</u>)<u>ι</u>τ σε<u>γ</u>ο<u>ν</u>ω αι<u>ζ</u>ι<u>ν</u>ω <ο>π<u>σ</u>α<u>ν</u>ω λ<u>ω</u>φ<u>κ</u>(<u>ι</u>η<u>ι</u>ς) δ<u>ο</u>υ<u>ν</u>ω<u>μ</u> η<u>ε</u>ρ<u>ε</u>κ<u>λ</u>ω<u>ι</u> λ<u>ω</u>φ<u>κ</u>τ<u>ι</u>η<u>ι</u>ς
Potentia 23/Lu 64	125–100	δ <u>ο</u> υ <u>ν</u> ω <u>μ</u>			
Cosilinum 2/Lu 40	c. 100		σ<u>κ</u> α<u>λ</u>α<u>π</u>ο<u>ν</u>ι<u>ς</u>	ο<u>π</u>τ<u>ι</u>ε<u>ς</u> ε<u>κ</u>ο	π<u>ι</u>ω

Conclusion

no inscription uses both <ει> and <ηι> for /εi/. This consistency may be due to the influence of habits used when writing Greek; in inscriptions which have <ηι>, forty-five out of forty-eight instances occur in the Oscan consonant-stem dative singular -ηι or the *o*- and consonant-stem genitive singular -ηις (see Table 15). These sequences also appeared in Greek nominal endings (-ηι in the first declension dative singular, -ηις in the Ionic first declension dative plural), so this may have influenced the heavy use of <ηι> in these contexts.³² If this is correct, we might predict that at some point an inscription will be found which has <ει> for /εi/ early in the word, and <ηι> in a nominal ending. In the inscriptions which use <ει> for /εi/ (also in the nominal endings), this must be explained either by the writer thinking of the diphthong as /ε/ plus /i/, hence <ει>, or, in the earlier inscriptions, by the writer being unaware of the use of H for <η>; that is, the writer is using non-Ionic orthography.

³² I am grateful to Geoff Horrocks (personal communication) for pointing out to me this correlation and its explanation.

CONSONANTS

Introduction

In this section I discuss aspects of the spelling of Oscan consonants and consonant clusters. In some cases, this involves the letter shapes used for particular graphemes, and the extent to which these can be used as dating criteria. In others, the spelling is examined for what it can tell us about Oscan phonology, and dialect variation.

Letter shapes of <h>: dating

The use of <h> in the inscriptions has been a key point in various debates about the Oscan inscriptions in the Greek alphabet, including to what extent the change in letter shapes from H to F is useful for dating the inscriptions, and whether the use of <h> can be attributed to influence from the Oscan alphabet. Here we will focus on the use of letter shapes in dating; the question about Oscan-alphabet influence will be discussed in Chapter 4 (pp. 147–56).

Table 37 contains all examples of the letter <h>. The majority of inscriptions use F, of which the earliest is Anxia 1/Lu 39 (300–250). Only three use H in Oscan words, of which the relative chronology is not easy to specify, although Buxentum 1/Lu 62 (300–200), which uses both H and F, may be later than Buxentum 3/Lu 45 (400–300) or Potentia 24/Lu 30 (325–275). H seems to have been preserved in Potentia 1/Lu 5, but only as an acrophonic numeral. In terms of dating inscriptions, H seems to be a firm criterion, being limited to the fourth and third centuries, and not appearing after 200 at the latest. This fits in with the evidence from Greek-language inscriptions in Italy, where H appears not to be attested after the fourth century,¹ and on this basis one might be

¹ The latest inscriptions with H that I have found are Del Monaco (2013: 118–20, nos. 59–61), which date from the first quarter of the fourth century.

Letter shapes of <h>: dating

Table 37: *Examples of <h>*

Inscription	Date	H	F
Buxentum 3/Lu 45	400–300	ἥρις	
Potentia 24/Lu 30	325–275	πῆρις	
Anxia 1/Lu 39	300–250		φολλοῦωμ
			καῖας
Buxentum 1/Lu 62	300–200	ἄπρι	ἔ
		ἡφειτουδ	εἰηιοι
		ἡδ<α>ς	ρεῖτ[ε
Potentia 21/Lu 29	250–200		κιομοι
Potentia 40/Lu 13	250–200		πεῖδ
Lucania or Brettii	After c. 200†		ἡρεκλεις
or Sicilia 1/Lu 26			
Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2	c. 150		μαραῖς
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†	As numeral	ἡριενς
			ἡρι(ενῖς)
Potentia 23/Lu 64	125–100		ἡρεκλωι

inclined to date Buxentum 1/Lu 62 early in its range rather than late. On the other hand, presence of F is much less useful; it is used by Crawford *et al.* (2011) as the reason to date Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1/Lu 26 to after c. 200, and is one criterion (along with the letter forms of <μ> and <ο>) to date Potentia 21/Lu 29 to 250–200. However, F is attested in the first part of the third century in Anxia 1/Lu 39, and, although it is not actually attested in an Oscan inscription of the fourth century, it is found in the Greek part of Petelia 2 (c. 300), and was already in use in Greek inscriptions from the south of Italy by around 400 (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 55).² Consequently, we cannot assume that an inscription containing F cannot come from the fourth century. This has implications for the dating of two of the inscriptions in Table 37. Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1/Lu 26 is dated by Crawford *et al.* (2011) to after c. 200 on

² Examples prior to 300 bc in Greek inscriptions from south Italy include SEG 42: 956, 49 (c. 400); Del Monaco (2013: 135, no. 82, beginning of the fourth century); Arena (1998: 29–30, no. 29, fourth century); Richter (1927: 56, fourth century); SEG 52: 959 (fourth century); Nafissi in Lippolis, Garraffo and Nafissi (1995: 243, no. K.12.1, fourth century); Trendall and Cambitoglou (1991–1992: 508, no. 41a1, late fourth century; see Trendall and Cambitoglou 1978–1982: 473); Trendall and Cambitoglou (1983: 174–5, no. 86f, end of the fourth century; see Schmidt 1984: 34).

the basis of the use of F .³ Since this is not a reliable criterion for dating, we should not assign a date to this inscription. Potentia 21/Lu 29 is dated to 250–200 on the basis of F and the letter forms of $\langle\mu\rangle$ and $\langle\omicron\rangle$. At least the first part of this analysis should now be taken out of consideration.

It has been assumed (Lejeune 1970: 293) that the switch from H to F may be connected with the adoption of H as $\langle\eta\rangle$, with the value $/\varepsilon/$ in diphthongs, and it seems intuitively plausible that the use of H for $\langle\eta\rangle$ might have led to a switch to the already available F to write $\langle\text{h}\rangle$. However, the evidence for such a correlation is not clear. It is true that none of the inscriptions which use H also use $\langle\eta\rangle$ in $/\varepsilon\text{i}/$ diphthongs. However, Buxentum 1/Lu 62 is actually the only inscription which contains both H and $/\varepsilon\text{i}/$ diphthongs (which are consistently written $\langle\varepsilon\text{i}\rangle$). There is also no certain chronological correlation between the adoption of H for $\langle\eta\rangle$ and a change from use of H to F for $\langle\text{h}\rangle$: we find $\langle\eta\text{i}\rangle$ for $/\varepsilon\text{i}/$ diphthongs as early as *c.* 300 BC (i.e. about the same time as our earliest instance of $\langle\varepsilon\text{i}\rangle$; see pp. 50–3), and H could have ceased to be used for $\langle\text{h}\rangle$ as much as 100 years later. Altogether, while it does seem likely that use of H for $\langle\text{h}\rangle$ is overall an earlier feature, and that this letter shape had ceased to be used by 200 BC at the very latest, the adoption of F for $\langle\text{h}\rangle$ had probably already begun by 300–275 BC, and was not necessarily driven by a desire to avoid using the same graph for two different sounds. Given the acceptance of e.g. $\langle\varepsilon\text{i}\rangle$ to write both $/\text{e}/$ and $/\varepsilon\text{i}/$ in the same inscription (see pp. 87–91), it would not be entirely surprising to find an inscription which used H for both $\langle\text{h}\rangle$ and $\langle\eta\rangle$.

The spelling of $/\text{f}/$

Three different letters are used to represent $/\text{f}/$: $\langle\text{f}\rangle$, $\langle\theta\rangle$ and $\langle\beta\rangle$, of which the first is the most common spelling;⁴ the second and third are each found in three inscriptions.⁵ The evidence has been

³ Note that the use of $\langle\varepsilon\text{i}\rangle$ for $/\varepsilon\text{i}/$ in this inscription is also not a reliable dating criterion (see Chapter 2).

⁴ The various shapes of $\langle\text{f}\rangle$ cannot be used as a dating criterion (see Chapter 1 fn. 4).

⁵ Crawford *et al.* (2011: 55) take $\langle\phi\rangle$ as representing $/\text{f}/$; this sign may appear in Laos 2/Lu 46, but the reading is uncertain. It is used in Buxentum 3/Lu 45 in the Greek name

The spelling of /f/

collected and discussed by McDonald (2015: 66–79), from whom the data in Table 38 is partly taken. It is important to consider the uses of <θ> and <f> here, both because they have been used as dating criteria for inscriptions, and because their use may tell us something about the phonetics of Oscan /f/.⁶

Table 38: *Instances of /f/*

Inscription	Date	<f>	<θ>	<β>
Lucani or Brettii or Sicilia 3/Lu 18	c. 375–350	αναφακετ		
Lucania 1/Lu 19	c. 350	φεστιες		
Cosilinum 1/Lu 3	c. 300†	ατφαματτεν[ς]		
Metapontum 2	c. 300	κft		
Paestum 1/Lu 14	c. 300	αv[α]φεδ		
Potentia 13/Lu 16	325–275†	μεφιτει		
Potentia 19/Lu 36	325–275†		μεφitaνοι	
Potentia 20/Lu 28	325–275†		μεφitaνοι	
Potentia 24/Lu 30	325–275		νετεfς	
			πεηετεfς	
Buxentum 1/ Lu 62	c. 300–200	<εσ>σουf ιαfk φειρα[ηαφειτουδ φαφουσ[τ φουστ ιουφετουδ φακτιεδ		
Potentia 15/ Lu 33	300–200	μεφitτηι		
Potentia 17/ Lu 15	300–200	μεφitτηι		
Potentia 32/Lu 17	300–200	]of		
Potentia 21/Lu 29	250–200	μεφι[τανοι		

φοιν[κiς], and may represent Greek /p^h/. In Petelia 2, McDonald (2015: 79–82) argues that <φ> is used for /p/.

⁶ Crawford *et al.* (2011) write all cases of <θ> and <β> as <f>, with the exception of σταβαλανο (Potentia 1/Lu 5), with the comment ‘f apparently = B, which we print to draw attention to the anomaly’ (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1365). This convention has been followed here for ease of comparison with Crawford *et al.* (2011).

Consonants

Table 38: (cont.)

Inscription	Date	<f>	<θ>	<β>
Potentia 40/Lu 13	250–200	φατ[οφ]οι φλουσοι αφακειτ φατοφε αλφιομ		
Teuranus Ager 1/ Lu 43	Presumably before 200			
Potentia 16/Lu 32	Either side 200	μεφιτηι		
Potentia 22/Lu 31	Either side 200	μεφिति[		
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1/Lu 26	After c. 200†			δαφενς
Potentia 9/ Lu 6	200–175	αφααματεδ		
Potentia 10/Lu 7	200–175	αφααμα[τεδ]		
Potentia 2/Lu 12	200–100	προφα[τεδ]		
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†	πωμφοκ(ιαι) αφαματετ πρωφατεδ		σταβαλανο
Potentia 14/Lu 34	125–100†			μεφιτηι

The use of <θ> has been taken to be an early feature (Lejeune 1990: 31; Crawford *et al.* 2011: 55), and the use of <β> a late feature (Lejeune 1971: 678–9, 1990: 33–4; Crawford *et al.* 2011: 55). However, very few of the datings of the inscriptions containing these letters are secure. The dating of Potentia 24/Lu 30 to 325–275 is plausible, due to its retention of /fs/, which later becomes /ss/ (cf. **luisarifs**, Capua 15/Cp 8, which is dated 325–300 BC). However, Potentia 19/Lu 36 is dated on the basis of its use of <ει> for /ei/, which is not a reliable criterion (see pp. 50–3), and Potentia 20/Lu 28 is dated on the basis that it uses <θ> for /f/. Consequently, although we do have one case of early <θ> for /f/, without further evidence we cannot be sure that the use of /θ/ did not continue until rather later (Potentia 19/Lu 36 and Potentia 20/Lu 28 are both re-used, and therefore can be dated to before 200 BC).

The situation for inscriptions containing /β/ is even worse. Lucania or Brettium or Sicilia 1/Lu 26 is dated by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1309) to after *c.* 200 BC on the basis of the use of F. However, as we have seen (pp. 96–8), F may have been in use from at least the early third century, and probably the fourth, so this is not a reliable criterion. Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1386) accept Lejeune’s (Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971: 72) dating of Potentia 14/Lu 34 to 125–100 BC on the basis of the use of <β>, which is currently under discussion (adding ‘the letter forms could in our view be earlier’). This is in conflict with their own understanding of the archaeological evidence; since Potentia 14/Lu 34 was re-used when the sanctuary at Rossano di Vaglio was rebuilt, it ought to be dated before 200 (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 53). Potentia 1/Lu 5 is dated by Lejeune (1971: 678–9), despite letter shapes considered by him to be archaic, towards the end of the second century BC, on the basis of three factors: (a) the spelling of intervocalic /s/ [z] with <ζ>, (b) intervocalic /f/ with <β>, and (c) the development of the sequence *-nst- to something written <νσ> in ΚΕΝΣΟΡΤΑΤΗ and simply <σ> in ΚΩΣ(Τ)ΙΤ < *kom-stēnt. Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1364) accept Lejeune’s dating without comment. However, as we will see (pp. 105–10), spelling of intervocalic /s/ with <ζ> goes back to at least 325 BC; this treatment of *-nst- is not necessarily late (see Table 2 fn. d); and the use of <β> for <f> is currently under discussion. Consequently, none of these inscriptions can be securely dated, except that Potentia 1/Lu 5 probably comes from after 200 BC, since it is an official inscription and was not re-used.

We could therefore say that use of <β> for /f/ is datable to after 200, but since this is based on a single datable inscription, it is only a weak criterion. Furthermore, there may very well be another example of <β> being used in an inscription which is datable – and dated early. This is Laos 2/Lu 46, from 330–320 BC. The gentilicium σαβιδιον is translated by Crawford *et al.* (2011) as ‘Sabidius’, but this is the Latin version of a name which also appears as *Safidius* (albeit only in Africa; Cristofori 1998), showing the Sabellic reflex /f/ < *-b^h-. This form was not included in Table 38 because it cannot be completely ruled out that we have here the Latin form of the name, which also appears in Paelignian *sabdia* (Corfinium 10/Pg 53), but it must be much more likely that

σαβιδιον represents the Oscan form of the name in Laos in the early fourth century.⁷

Clearly, archaeological, orthographic and epigraphic evidence is not completely conclusive in dating the usage of <θ> and <β>, although the former was certainly in use from 325–275 BC, and there is no evidence of it being used after 200 BC. The latter was used in one inscription from 200 BC or later, probably in an Oscan inscription from the last quarter of the fourth century and perhaps in Greek inscriptions from the fourth and third centuries (see fn. 8), but we have no further evidence for the time range within which it was used.

Other reasons have been put forward for a later dating of <β> for /f/. Crawford *et al.* (2011: 55) state that ‘[t]he shift in the pronunciation of beta in Greek, perhaps c. 150 BC, perhaps lies behind its use for *f* in Oscan’. Lejeune (1971: 678–9, 1972a: 12, 1990: 33–4) instead suggests that by the time of the inscriptions which use <β>, /b/ had become [v] in Oscan in all positions, thus facilitating the use of <β> also to represent [v], the word-internal allophone of /f/ (for critical comments on Lejeune’s position see Marchese 1974: 417–18). Both of these proposals rest on the assumption that <β> could only be used for /f/ in Oscan after /b/ had developed to [v] or [β] (either in Greek or in Oscan itself), with <β> consequently taking on the value of [v] or [β].

It is true that in most dialects of Greek, the development of /b/ to [v] or [β] seems to have taken place rather late. Thus, <β> was used for Latin /w/ from the first century AD in Egyptian papyri, with the first evidence for a fricative value in inscriptions from Attica and Asia Minor also from the first century AD. However, there is evidence from Egyptian papyri of the spelling of ῥάβδους as ῥάυδους from the mid second century BC, and evidence of a value [β] in Boeotia and Smyrna at the end of that century, with fricative pronunciation being found in Laconia and the Argolid in the fifth century, and Crete in the fourth (Schwyzer 1959: 198, 207–8, 217; Mayser and Schmoll 1970: 151; Gignac 1976–1981:

⁷ The Lucanians began to enter the Roman sphere around this time. After contact around 330 BC, they formed an alliance in 326, and – after the break-up of the alliance in 317 – were defeated by Scipio Barbatus in 298. The earliest Latin colonies in or near Lucania were Venusia in 291 BC and Paestum in 273 BC (Lomas 2004: 208).

1.68–71; and see also the discussion in McDonald 2015: 77–9). Consequently, if Crawford is right in seeing the Greek development as key to the Oscan use of <β> for /f/, it is not impossible that Oscan speakers may have been in contact with Greek speakers who used <β> with the value [v] or [β] earlier than the last quarter of the second century.

However, it does not seem to me that either Crawford or Lejeune's positions must necessarily be the case; the adoption of <β> to occasionally write [v] may have been an Oscan innovation without any input from Greek usage, and without being due to a change of Oscan /b/ to [v] (for which there is no other evidence, such as a spelling of /b/ with <f>). A voiced word-internal allophone of /f/ probably goes back to Proto-Italic times (Stuart-Smith 2004: 91, 97–8), and much will have depended on what features of this sound struck the scribe as important. Much of the time, <f> will have been used for the voiceless allophone [f]. Most writers also used <f> for the voiced value [v]. However, sometimes it was clearly the voicing of this sound that struck the scribes as particularly salient, and then <β> was an obvious choice, being labial and voiced. It is particularly noticeable that in Potentia 1/Lu 5, the scribe also distinguishes the voiced and voiceless allophones of /s/, using <ζ> for the former and <σ> for the latter. Such a usage, although clearly the minority choice, could have developed at any time, and cannot be used as a criterion for dating (as noted by McDonald 2015: 77–9).⁸

⁸ Possible parallels to the use of <β> for [v] may be found in the coinage of Allifae (400–395 bc), some of whose legends, with Greek morphology, read αλλιβανον (and variants; Allifae 1.3a–e, g–h, 4/nSa 1b). Similarly, the legends of coins from Nuceria Alfaterna (275–250 bc), written in the Oscan alphabet, occasionally write for /f/ (Nuceria Alfaterna 1/nCm 3a). These spellings are taken by Stuart-Smith (2004: 86–7) to represent medial voicing of /f/. If this is correct, this shows that <β> was already a possible representation for [v] in the Greek alphabet at the start of the fourth century, and that could be felt to be a better representation for [v] in the Oscan alphabet, even though <f> was available. However, Crawford *et al.* (2011: 581, 903) argue that the apparent cases of <β> and are in fact merely due to the difficulties of writing 8 for <f> on a coin die. Another possible instance of <β> for /f/ is found in an inscription dating from around 330 on a cuirass, containing the Oscan name νουιος βαννιος with Greek morphology. Given the large and careful writing of <β>, there can be no question of a mistake for 8. Colonna (1984: 234–41) points out that the rare name *Banius* found in Latin inscriptions is probably Celtic, whereas *Fannius* is fairly well attested. However, the use of <β> for word-initial /f/ is very strange, since this had the value [f], which shares neither voicing nor place of articulation with <β> = [b]. Neither of the alternative

Let us now turn to the question of the phonetics of /f/ which are suggested by the use of <θ> and <β>. As noted in the last paragraph, there is some evidence for voicing of word-internal /f/ in all the Italic languages; that <β> is only found for /f/ when word-internal supports this hypothesis. However, it is worth noting that in Potentia 1/Lu 5, only one case of word-internal /f/ is spelt with <β> (σταβαλανο). In αφαματετ, πρωφατεδ and possibly πωμοφοκ(ια), whose etymology is, however, uncertain, we find <f> used for this sound. According to Lejeune (1971: 678, 1972a: 12), this is because these are compounds, which consequently have the initial [f] of the simplex. This is true for αφαματετ (cf. **faamated** e.g. Pompeii 2/Po 34). It is also possible that this form contains [f] rather than [v], since it could go back to /affa:matted/ < *ad-fāmattet (cf. ατφαματτεν[ς Cosilinum 1/ Lu 3). But it is harder to explain intervocalic <f> in πρωφατεδ in this way, because there is no simplex verb ^xfā- (the verb is derived from the adjective *profuos < *pro-b^hu-o-, cf. Latin *probus*, *probāre*). Consequently, it looks as though the use of <β> for word-internal /f/ is inconsistent in Potentia 1/Lu 5, which supports the idea that use of <β> in our inscriptions is down to individual variation, rather than a systematic change at a particular point in time. It is difficult to know whether <β> represents a voiced fricative in δαφενς (Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1/Lu 26), which probably goes back to *dād-fe-fe-nt, which would presumably become *dātfevent > *dāffvens after assimilation and syncope. Given the general tendency for regressive assimilation in Oscan, it seems plausible that the cluster *-ffv- would become *-vv-, but there is no other evidence.

Word-initial /f/ in the Italic languages was a voiceless labiodental fricative [f], while word-internal /f/ was a voiced fricative. However, it is not certain whether this word-internal allophone was bilabial [β] or labiodental [v], the latter of which I have been supposing up to now (Stuart-Smith 2004, especially 141–3, 195–207). The use of <β> to represent this sound would seem to support a value [β], since this agrees with /b/, the usual value of <β>, in place of articulation, only differing in manner. But the use

explanations of the name, which presuppose initial /b/, by Zimmerman (1979: 183) and Guzzo (1981: 60) is particularly plausible. It is unclear what to make of this evidence.

of <θ> does not particularly support a value [β]. Presumably <θ> represents a voiceless aspirate /t^h/ in Greek at this period (for the use of Greek aspirates to represent Italic fricatives cf. early Greek spellings of Latin names such as Φερον for *Ferum* and Οφελλιον for *Ofellium*; Stuart-Smith 2004: 136). But it is also possible that <θ> had the value [θ] in at least some of the Greek dialects which were in contact with Oscan speakers when the Greek alphabet began to be used to write Oscan (Buck 1955: 59). If so, one could argue that [θ] is actually slightly closer to [v] than to [β], insofar as both [θ] and [v] involve dental articulation (albeit the other articulator is different: lip for [v], tongue for [θ]). But they are not really very close, so it may be better to see <θ> as not derived from Greek <θ> at all, but as simply a development of <8> = /f/, which was borrowed from the Oscan alphabet (Lejeune 1970: 274–6; but see McDonald 2015: 66–71). In summary, while the uses of <β> and <θ> suggest intriguing possibilities for making clearer the phonetics of Oscan /f/, in the current state of things there is not enough evidence for us to be sure about this question.

The value and sources of <ζ>

The letter <ζ> represents a sound coming from two distinct sources, word initial **d̥i-*, and *-s- between two vowels or between a vowel and a resonant (in theory, there may also be another source, since the etymology of one word containing <ζ> is unknown). Table 39 presents all examples of <ζ> in the Greek alphabet. We find exactly the same sources for <z> in the Latin alphabet inscriptions from Bantia datable to the early first century

Table 39: *Instances of <ζ>*

Inscription	Date	* <i>d̥i-</i>	*-s-	Unclear origin
Caulonia 2	325–300		φεζεις	
Potentia 11/Lu 35	Either side 200	ζωφηι		πιζηι
Potentia 22/Lu 31	Either side 200		φενζηι	
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†		αιζνιω ειζιδομ	

(e.g. *zicel*[*ei*] Bantia 1.7/Lu 1, *zoveş* Bantia 2/Lu 38 < **dī-*, and *eizazunc egmazum* Bantia 1.24/Lu 1, with intervocalic *-s-).

The first question we need to address is what the value of <ζ> is. We can begin with the external evidence. Up until the fourth century BC <ζ> represented /zd/ in almost all Greek dialects. At an earlier stage, however, it seems to have been pronounced /dz/ in at least some dialects, and it is possible that this pronunciation survived in Magna Graecia (Allen 1987: 56–9; Lejeune 1970: 313–14).⁹ In the fourth century we get the first evidence for the koine value /z/ in Attic inscriptions datable to 342/1 and 329/8 BC (Sturtevant 1940: 93; Threatte 1980: 547–9; Gignac 1976–1981: 1.121 fn. 1). Consequently, Caulonia 2, which can be dated to 325–300, is on the cusp of this change, and <ζ> could reflect either the earlier value /zd/ (or /dz/) or the later value /z/. The dating of Potentia 11/Lu 35 and Potentia 22/Lu 31 puts these squarely in the time by which /z/ was firmly established in koine Greek, as does that of Potentia 1/Lu 5; although Crawford *et al.*'s (2011) dating may be too late, it is not earlier than about 200 BC, since it is a magistrate's inscription, and not re-used. However, it is possible that <ζ> was borrowed from the Greek alphabet with the value /zd/ (or /dz/) and kept that value for writing Oscan even while <ζ> came to be used for /z/ when writing Greek. Given the timing of Caulonia 2, external evidence does not allow us to be certain whether <ζ> had the value /zd/ (perhaps /dz/) or /z/ when used for writing Oscan.

As for the internal evidence, Lejeune (1970: 310–14) argued for an affricate /dz/ as the original value, which arose from initial **dī-* (as in **dīoueī* > ζωφηι Potentia 11/Lu 35), with subsequent development to /z/, at which point <ζ> was used to represent the voiced allophone [z] of /s/ before a nasal in αἰζινω, and between vowels in εἰζιδουμ (Potentia 1/Lu 5). According to Lejeune, the use of <ζ> in φενζηι (Potentia 22/Lu 31), and therefore also in φεζεῖς (Caulonia 2, which had not been discovered when Lejeune was writing), is due to

⁹ Although Lejeune apparently gave up the idea that <ζ> could represent /dz/ at this time in Greek: 'non qu'on doive supposer que, vers 300 Z se prononçât encore *dʒ* en grec de Grande-Grèce, mais, par voie d'approximation, parce que Z était la seule lettre grecque disponible évoquant une des composantes de *dʒ*, l'élément sifflant sonore' (Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971: 70).

the existence of an epenthetic [d] that occurred in the sequence /ns/, giving [ndz], so that <ζ> also represents [dz] here. The values /dz/ and [dz] posited by Lejeune are not implausible. As discussed below, it is likely that **dī-* did go through a stage /dz/, and the existence of an epenthetic [d] in the sequence is plausible on cross-linguistic grounds (cf. English *mince* [mɪnts]), and one can also point to the parallel of the sequence /ms/, which was apparently [mps], on the basis of e.g. νομψις (Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47) < **numsis* < **numVsius*. There is also some evidence for such an epenthesis in inscriptions written in the Oscan alphabet, where we find **keenzstur** (Teruentum 8/Sa 4) and **kenzsur** (Histonium 1/Fr 1) ‘censor’, with <z> representing [ts].¹⁰ However, there is also no strong reason to assume that a value /dz/ or [dz] must have existed for <ζ>. The spelling ζωφηι could equally well represent a later stage /zowei/, and φενζηι and φεζεις could represent [wēzeis] < **uen-es-ei(s)*.¹¹ Intervocalic *-s- was probably already voiced to [z] in Proto-Italic, given its subsequent rhotacism in Latin and Umbrian (Stuart-Smith 2004: 91, 97–8). As this is a common change cross-linguistically it is possible it took place independently in Latin, Umbrian and Oscan, but even if so, there is no reason why it should be a late rather than an early change. Consequently, the only value which is definitely established is [z], in αιζνιω, ειζιδου. Occam’s razor suggests that we should not posit further values without stronger evidence.

One piece of evidence put forward by Lejeune is the form πιιζηι (Potentia 11/Lu 35), which is taken by Lejeune (1970: 310, 313, Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971: 71) to represent [pedzei] < **pid-es-ei*, but this etymology is quite uncertain (see Untermann 2000: 852 for alternative suggestions). The only other evidence is an assumption made by Lejeune about the linguistic situation in which <ζ> could be adopted with the value [z]. This is that [z], which only existed as an allophone of /s/, would only be written with <σ> until a phoneme /z/ came into being (as a result of **dī-* > **dē-* > /z/), whereupon <ζ>, which was now used for /z/, could also

¹⁰ However, this and related words, which also always keep the /n/ before the /s/, are loans from Latin, and it is possible that inherited **n(V)s-* did not gain an epenthetic stop, but lost the *-n- instead, as in κωσ(τ)ιτ (Potentia 1/Lu 5) < **konstēnt* (see pp. 129–32).

¹¹ The name of Venus is unlikely to be a loan-word from Latin (Poccetti 2008).

be used for [z] as an allophone of /s/ (thus explicitly Lejeune 1970: 313–14; also implied in Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971: 70–71, Lejeune 1971: 679).

Thus, for Lejeune, the use of <ζ> for [z] entailed the prior existence of a phoneme /dz/, written <ζ>. This is problematic on two grounds. The first is the assumption – even if we accept that there was, in the minds of the writers of Oscan, a distinction between the Greek alphabet used to write Greek and the Greek alphabet used to write Oscan – that <ζ> would only be borrowed into the Greek alphabet used to write Oscan if Oscan had a separate phoneme for it to represent. This is not necessarily correct: after all, borrowed alphabets often retain (and use) letters which are unnecessary from a phonemic point of view: an example is the varieties of the Greek alphabet which borrowed <ξ> from the Phoenician alphabet to represent /ks/, even though this was adequately represented by <κσ> or <χσ> (as demonstrated by other varieties, which use these digraphs). If <ζ> was used with the value [z] in Greek, and this was known by writers of Oscan, there seems no reason why they could not have occasionally used <ζ> to write [z] in Oscan.¹² The second ground is that the discovery of Caulonia 2 causes a problem of dating, since Lejeune (1970: 313–14) also argues that the epenthetic and sub-phonemic [d] he supposes in the sequence /ns/ in *ῥεϛζῆ* and *ῥεζεῖς* would only be spelt with <ζ> after the development of the phoneme /dz/ from initial **dj*-; however, *ῥεζεῖς* in Caulonia 2 is dated to 325–300 BC, while we still find a spelling <δῖ> for initial **dj*- until 200–175 BC (see Table 41). It is possible that in these inscriptions the spelling <δῖ> is an archaism, and that <ζ> was in use for /dz/ < **dj*- by 300 BC, but we have no evidence for it.¹³

¹² It might be claimed that L1 speakers of a language cannot identify and distinguish allophones in this way, but this is surely true only of a monolingual speaker; a speaker (and writer) of Oscan whose L1 was Greek and L2 Oscan, or who had both Greek and Oscan as L1s, would presumably be able to distinguish [z] and [s], since /z/ was phonemic in Greek. Even an L1 speaker of Oscan with L2 Greek would have to have a metalanguage for identifying /z/ in Greek ('it is pronounced like [Oscan] /s/ is when it is between vowels'), and hence be able to identify [z] in Oscan. We have no way of identifying the linguistic background of our writers of Oscan in any detail, except that bilingualism with Greek was presumably very common.

¹³ The only support for such a situation would be Lejeune's assumption that the development of /dz/ to /z/ occurred 'parallèlement et simultanément' (for this wording

I conclude that there is no certain evidence that <ζ> ever represented /dz/ or [dz] in Oscan inscriptions. Although /dz/ or [dz] are possible values in ζωφηι (Potentia 11/Lu 35), φεζεις (Caulonia 2) and φενζηι (Potentia 22/Lu 31), it could just as easily reflect /z/ in these inscriptions, while /z/ must be the correct value in ειζιδου and αιζνιω (Potentia 1/Lu 5). If /z/ is indeed the value in all our inscriptions, it suggests that *d_z- had developed to /z/ by the time of Potentia 11/Lu 35 (either side of 200 BC). It should be noted that the use of <ζ> to write [z] as an allophone of /s/ cannot be used as a dating criterion, since it is probably attested as early as 325–300 BC in Caulonia 2. Indeed, in the small amount of data available to us, diachrony does not seem to be a factor in the use of <ζ> for /s/: some inscriptions use <σ> and others use <ζ> for intervocalic /s/ [z] throughout the time period of our corpus (see Table 40).

Table 40: *Instances of [z]*

Inscription	Date	<σ>	<ζ>
Caulonia 2	325–300		φεζεις
Buxentum 1/Lu 62	300–200	εισεις	
Potentia 22/Lu 31	Either side 200		φενζηι
Potentia 5/Lu 11	200–100	εισειδου	
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†		ειζιδου αιζνιω
Cosilinum 2/Lu 40	c. 100	αισ(ωις)	

The following forms are not included in Table 40, because it is not clear that they contain [z].

Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971: 70, see also Lejeune 1970: 313–14) with the development of /ts/ > /s/ seen in τρεβας < *trebats in Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43, dated by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1478) to ‘presumably before c. 200 BC’. This assimilation is found also in μινας (× 2), μ[ι]νας (Petelia 2) < *mīnats, which dates from c. 300. Potentia 40/Lu 13, dated by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1425) to 250–200 BC, preserves the cluster: κλοφατς (it is uncertain whether προς Buxentum 1/Lu 62 reflects this sequence). If Lejeune were correct, therefore, the change of /dz/ > /z/ (and hence the use of <ζ> for /z/) must also have begun by at least 300. However, I do not think there is any good reason to suppose that the change of initial /dz/ (if this was indeed the starting point) to /z/ must necessarily have taken place at the same time as final /ts/ > /s/.

εσοτ (Anxia 1/Lu 39). The etymology is unclear, but the word probably does not have original intervocalic /s/, since it comes from *eks- or *eps- or *est-.

πλασος (Paestum 3/Lu 42). This is an unknown name, and may not be Oscan.

*Word-initial *d̥i- as a dialect variant*

The evidence from the Oscan alphabet shows a development in spelling of the sequence *d̥i- over time from <di> to <i> (Buck 1928: 84). This is clearest in the inscriptions from Capua, which refer to something called a *iúvila*, apparently some kind of ritual item (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 28–9). This item is twice spelt with <di> in the inscriptions written in the unreformed alphabet, which date from c. 325–300 BC: **diuvilam** (Capua 15/Cp 8), **diuvil(am)** (Capua 16/Cp 9). One, presumably later, unreformed alphabet inscription has **iuvilu** (× 2) (Capua 18/Cp 18), and this spelling is then found in all the inscriptions written in the reformed alphabet, from c. 300–250 BC (for the chronology and dating of these inscriptions see Crawford *et al.* 2011: 27–9): **iuvilas**, **iúvilas** (Capua 20/Cp 25, Capua 29/Cp 24), **iúvil(as)** (Capua 21/Cp 32, Capua 22/Cp 31), **iúvil(ú)** (Capua 25/Cp 30, Capua 28/Cp 27), **iúvil(ú)** (Capua 26/Cp 29), **iúvilam** (Capua 27/Cp 28). The same spelling development is found between **diuvia[s]**, **diuvia[s]** (Capua 9/Cp 10) ‘belonging to Jove’, **iúviass** (Capua 22/Cp 31) and **iuveí** (× 2) (Capua 20/Cp 25) ‘to Jove’, and it can also be seen in **d̥ioklei* > **iúkleí** (Capua 24/Cp 33) ‘on the day’. This development is not confined to Capua: we find the spelling **diúveí** at Teruentum 34 A.11, 12, B.14, 15/Sa 1 compared with **iúveís** (Histonium 5/Fr 5 c, Pompeii 13/Po 1) ‘of Jove’, **iúveí** (Cumae 4/Cm 9) and **iúvii(m)** (Pompeii 13/Po 1). Since Teruentum 34/Sa 1 is dated by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1200) to c. 200–150, which is about the same time as the other inscriptions, it seems likely that it is using spelling which was archaic for the time. A slightly different development is found in the Latin alphabet inscriptions, where we find <z> representing original *d̥i- in *zoves* (Bantia 2/Lu 38) ‘of Jove’, and *zicolom* (Bantia 1.14, 17/Lu 1), *zico(lom)* (Bantia

Table 41: *The writing of original *d̥i-*

Inscription	Date	<δi>	<i>	<ζ>
Paestum 1/Lu 14	c. 300		ιουφιη	
Vibo 2/Lu 25	c. 300†	διουφει		
Potentia 12/Lu 27	300–200	διοφιη		
Potentia 40/Lu 13	250–200	διοφιοι		
Potentia 11/Lu 35	Either side 200			ζωφιη
Potentia 9/Lu 6	200–175	διοφηις		
Potentia 10/Lu 7	200–175	διοφιαις		

1.15/Lu 1), *ziculud* (Bantia 1.16/Lu 1), *zicell[ei]* (Bantia 1.7/Lu 1), *zicolois* (Bantia 1.25/Lu 1) ‘day’ < **d̥iēklo-* (cf. [d]iīkúlús[s] Histonium 2/Fr 14).

As shown in Table 41, the evidence from the Greek alphabet inscriptions is ambiguous, with most inscriptions showing a spelling <δi> equivalent to the older spelling <di> in the Oscan alphabet, and with one example each of a spelling <i> (equivalent to <i> in the Oscan alphabet) and a spelling <ζ> (equivalent to <z> in the Latin alphabet). Given the relative paucity of material, it is hard to know exactly what to make of this data. According to Crawford *et al.* (2011: 50), ‘ιου- in ιουφιη at Paestum is Campanian Oscan, not Lucanian Oscan’, observing also links between Campania and Paestum reflected in coinage and wall-paintings (the same distinction is made by Rix 1996: 250). If this approach is correct, we can observe a dialectal difference here between the development of /dj/ to /j/ in the Oscan alphabet area (presumably around 300 BC, if the spelling of Teruentum 34/Sa 1 is archaic) plus Paestum, versus a development to a sound spelt <ζ, z> (probably /z/; see above) in at least Rossano di Vaglio (Potentia 11/Lu 35) and Bantia (presumably around 200 BC).

However, one could also imagine other scenarios. For example, it is possible that initial /dj/ developed into /j/ (about 300 BC) and then into /z/ (about 200 BC) everywhere. A plausible set of developments would be **d̥i-* > **i-* > **d̥j-* > **d̥z-* > **z-*. The Oscan alphabet had no way of writing any of these last three sounds, so

the by-then archaic spelling <i> may have been retained.¹⁴ It might be argued that this is a long and complex series of developments, and that it is simpler to suppose two separate developments of **d̥i-* > **i-* in Campania and Samnium, and of **d̥i-* > **dz-* > **z-* in Lucania and Bruttium. However, a very similar series of sound changes took place in Greek, as can be seen in Greek **d̥ieus* > Ζεύς beside **iugom* > ζυγόν ‘yoke’ (for the value of <ζ> in Greek, see p. 106). The change of **d̥i-* > **i-* also took place in Latin (e.g. **diouos* > *Iouis* ‘of Jove’), with subsequent ‘strengthening’ of **i-* to /d̥/ in at least some varieties of Latin (Adams 2013: 120–23). The spellings with <δi> in the inscriptions from Vibo and Potentia could then be archaic, perhaps particularly appropriate in dedications to Jupiter,¹⁵ or could be attempts to spell an intermediate stage **d̥z-* > **dz-* between **i-* and /z/.

The simplest explanation seems to be to identify a dialectal difference between Samnium and Campania on the one hand, and Lucania on the other, because of the different spellings of **d̥i-* in the Oscan, Latin and Greek alphabets. However, without further evidence, it cannot be completely ruled out that instead we are dealing with a chronological development which was shared across the Oscan-speaking area, but the latter stages of which are not spelt in a different way from earlier stages in the Oscan alphabet inscriptions. If the spellings of **d̥i-* with <δi> attested until 200–175 BC are not archaisms, but reflect an intermediate stage such as /d̥z/ or /dz/, Potentia 11/Lu 5 should be dated slightly after the last of these inscriptions (Potentia 9/Lu 6 and Potentia 10/Lu 7).

Word-internal **-C̥i-* sequences

At least some word-internal consonants followed by **-i-* seem to have undergone gemination in Oscan. In the Oscan alphabet, this

¹⁴ The affricates in this series could have been represented by <ʒ> (normally /ts/) or by <ds>, but the absence of such spellings is hardly good evidence that these developments did not take place.

¹⁵ As noted by Lejeune (Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971: 70) and by Poccetti (1993a: 218), who observes that these divine names are marked out by several epigraphical differences from the rest of the text.

is most clear when the consonant is written double, but geminate consonants were also often written with single letters. Thus we find forms like **minnieís** (Capua 20/Cp 25) < **mīnjeís* beside **minieís** (Capua 20/Cp 25) and **medikkiaí** (Capua 27/Cp 28) < **meddikjāi* beside **meddiki**<a>i (Capua 26/Cp 29). We have evidence for gemination only for the consonants /k/, /t/, /l/ and /n/.¹⁶ No double spellings of /g/, /d/, /p/, /m/, /s/ or /f/ are found, although probably only in the case of /s/ is there enough evidence for us to be fairly sure that the absence of double writing is meaningful.¹⁷

In the Tabula Bantina, written in the Latin alphabet, double writing is (inconsistently) found only for /d/ and /l/, all other geminated consonants only ever being written single (von Planta 1892–1897: 1.52). However, where in inscriptions written in the Oscan alphabet we find <(k)ki> and <(t)ti>, the Tabula Bantina

¹⁶ Examples of gemination of /k/ are: **meddikkiaí** (Capua 25/Cp 30), **medikkiaí** (Capua 27/Cp 28), **tríbarakkiuf** (Abella 1 B.11–12, 16–17/Cm 1); examples of /t/ are: **namert**{.}tjāis (Capua 22/Cp 31), **namerttiaís** (Capua 25/Cp 30), **namerttiaís** (Capua 26/Cp 29), **namerttieís** (Capua 52/tCp 1), **úttiuf** (Abella 1 B.14, 17/Cm 1), **staattieís** (Abella 3/Cm 3), **banttieí[s]** (Teruentum 20/Sa 24), **pettiur** (Aufidena 1/Sa 17), **ǵittíu** (Abella 1 B.27/Cm 1), with mistaken <ǵ> for <ǵ>; examples of /l/ are **vítellíu** (Italia 1 no. 420/nPg 1b), **velliam** (Capua 33/Cp 36) [up]illiunis (Herculaneum 3/Cm 42), **úpfalliu** (Bouianum 93); examples of /n/ are: **minnieís** (Capua 20/Cp 25), **damsennias** (Capua 24/Cp 34), **kúmbennieís** (Pompeii 21/Po 4, Pompeii 23/Po 3), **kúmbenni[e]í[s]** (Pompeii 23/Po 14), **teremenníu** (Abella 1 A.15/Cm 1), **dekmanniúís** (Teruentum 34 B.23/Sa 1), **+ínnianuí** (Teruentum 35/Sa 26), **akudunniad** (Aquilonia 1/nSa 6). Compare the absence of double writing in **meddiki**<a>i (Capua 26/Cp 29), **medikiaí** (Capua 28/Cp 27), **lúvkíuú** (Aufidena 3), **últiumam** (Capua 22/Cp 31), **namerttiuí** (Acerrae 1/tCm 7), **eítiuvad** (Pompeii 21/Po 4, Pompeii 23/Po 3), **eítiuy[ad]** (Pompeii 23/Po 14), **eítiuvam** (Pompeii 23/Po 3), **anagtiaí** (Bouianum or Saepinum not Aesernia 1/Sa 22), **dekítiuú** (Teruentum 36/Sa 2), **frentiaís** (Frentiae 1/Fr 9), **fruktatiuf** (Abella 1 A.21/Cm 1), with mistaken <ǵ> for <ǵ>; **velieís** (Saepinum 10/Hi 7), **víteliú** (Italia 1 no. 407, 410, 422, 424, 425/nPg 1a, nPg 3, nPg 4a, nPg 7); **minieís** (Capua 20/Cp 25), **falenias** (Capua 27/Cp 28), **miinieís** (Capua 38/Cp 2), **minies** (Capua 40/Cp 3). Some early inscriptions in the unreformed alphabet never write double consonants from any source; thus the absence of double writing is not significant in **pakíu(i)** (Capua 34/Cp 37), probably **tirentium** (Capua 15/Cp 8), **nasení(eis)** (× 2, Capua 3/Cp 13), **nínium** (Capua 14/Cp 26).

¹⁷ Examples of *-sj- are: **fiisiaís** (Capua 15/Cp 8), **fiisiaís** (Capua 25/Cp 30), **sakrasias** (Capua 25/Cp 30), **fiisiaís** (Capua 26/Cp 29), **kerss<n>asiaís** (Capua 26/Cp 29), **esskazsiúu** (Surrentum 1/Cm 2), **niumsieís** (Nola 3/Cm 6), **degetasiúu** (Nola 3/Cm 6), **deketasiuí** (Abella 1 A.5/Cm 1), **purasiaí** (Teruentum 34 A.16, B.19/Sa 1), **f<l>uasasiaís** (Teruentum 34 A.20/Sa 1). The examples of *-fj- are **meffíu** (Abella 1 B.4/Cm 1), **meffiaí** (Abella 1 B.31/Cm 1). The examples of *-fj- are **vibieí[s]** (Aquinum 5), **vibieisen** (Teannum Sidicinum 26/Si 5), **vibjei(s)** (Cumae 16/Cm 32). The examples of *-gj- are **flagiúu** (Cumae 4/Cm 9), **flagiúi** (× 2, Capua 20/Cp 25), **magiúu**. The example of *-dj- is **ahvdiúu** (Teannum Sidicinum 24/Po 51). I have not found a certain example of *-pj- or *-mj-.

shows both loss of $*\text{-}\tilde{i}\text{-}$ and assibilation in $\langle b \rangle$ *ansae*, *bansae*, *bansa*[e] ‘at Bantia (loc. sg.)’ (Bantia 1.19, 23, 31/Lu 1) $\langle *Banti\tilde{a}i$, *meddixud* (Bantia 1.13, 21/Lu 1) ‘magistracy (abl. sg.)’ $\langle *meddik\tilde{i}od$ (Buck 1928: 66–7; Untermann 2000: 460–61). Presumably, assibilation here is the result of palatalisation by the following $*\text{-}\tilde{i}\text{-}$ before it was lost. In the Tabula Bantina, $*\text{-}\tilde{i}\text{-}$ also seems to have been lost in *famelo* (Bantia 1.22/Lu 1) ‘household’ $\langle *fameli\tilde{a}$, and perhaps in *allo*, *allam* ‘whole’ (acc. sg.) (Bantia 1.22, Adamesteanu fragment 1.9/Lu 1), if this comes from $*al\text{-}\tilde{i}o\text{-}$ rather than $*al\text{-}no\text{-}$ (the latter, however, is more likely, given the comparative evidence of Gothic *alls* ‘all’).¹⁸ Another possible case of loss of $*\text{-}\tilde{i}\text{-}$ is *herest* (Bantia 1.12, 18, 24, 26/Lu 1), *her*[est] (Bantia 1, Adamesteanu fragment 1.4/Lu 1) ‘(s)he will want’, if this comes from $*\tilde{g}^her\tilde{i}e/o\text{-}$; but $*\tilde{g}^her\text{-}e/o\text{-}$ is also a possibility (see below). Given the assibilation of $*\text{-}k\text{-}$ and $*\text{-}t\text{-}$, it is reasonable to suppose that the $\langle l \rangle$ of *famelo* probably represents a palatal /lʲ/, which was probably also geminated on the basis of the Oscan alphabet evidence (and perhaps *allo*).

Loss of $*\text{-}\tilde{i}\text{-}$ and gemination may also be attested in the Oscan alphabet, where we find a spelling $\langle rr \rangle$ in *vīkturraī* (Teruentum 20/Sa 24), a loan-word from Latin *Victōria*, but apparently with Oscan phonology in the representation of the vowel of the second syllable as $\langle u \rangle$, and the reduction of final Latin [ija] to $*\text{-}\tilde{i}\tilde{a}$ (Untermann 2000: 856). The same spelling of $*\text{-}r\tilde{i}\text{-}$ may also be found in *sverrunēī* (Abella 1 A.2/Cm 1) if this comes from $*suer\text{-}\tilde{i}ōn\text{-}$ (but alternative derivations are possible; Untermann 2000: 726–7).

On the basis of both the Oscan- and Latin-alphabet evidence, Orioles (1972: 77–8) suggests that $*\text{-}l\tilde{i}\text{-}$ and $*\text{-}r\tilde{i}\text{-}$ had developed to /llj/ and /rrj/ by the time of the creation of the Oscan alphabet’s orthographic system, and subsequently became /lʲj/ and /rʲj/ in the course of the documented history of Oscan. The evidence of this development, however, was restricted to writing produced by less well-educated scribes, due to the fixed nature of the Oscan

¹⁸ Untermann (2000: 81) considers that $*al\text{-}no\text{-}$ would have given $*anno\text{-}$, but the evidence for such a change comes only from Umbrian (Meiser 1986: 164–5), and the Oscan development may have been different.

alphabet's orthography. According to Orioles (1972: 80–91), since assibilation (and hence previously palatalisation) of dental stops is attested at Bantia and in languages spoken at the margins of the Oscan area such as Sabine, Marsian and Paelignian, we should assume that palatalisation took place also in dentals in Oscan, just as in liquids.¹⁹ Although Orioles does not specifically mention velar stops, the same seems likely to be true for them.

Orioles' claim is perfectly plausible, but the fairly sparse evidence means that there is room for some caveats. Firstly, all the other evidence for **-r_i-* which I have been able to find comes from Capua,²⁰ so it is possible that either the development to /rⁱrⁱ/ or the adoption of <rr> as the spelling may be areally determined (Teruentum and perhaps Abella, but not Capua); a chronological development can also not be completely ruled out, since the later Capuan stelai which refer to the ritual item known as a *iúvila* perhaps date to about 250 BC (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 29), while Teruentum 20/Sa 24 dates from 200–100 and Abella 1/Cm 1 from about 100. However, caution is also required about the development to /rⁱrⁱ/ itself, since *víkturrai* is in the end the only

¹⁹ A possible, and, if reliable, very striking, piece of evidence for assibilation of **-t_i-* in an Oscan-alphabet inscription could be the reading of *kersna[s]ias* (Capua 24/Cp 34) as *kersna_tias* by Vetter (1953: 81–2). If correct, the use of <ɥ> for etymological <s> here might suggest the falling together of /s/ and /t/ before /j/, with consequent confusion as to which sign to use. But this seems to be a hypothesis of Vetter's based on the readings of von Planta (1892–1897: 2.521–2) and Buck (1928: 251) as *kersnai_tias* (which go back to the original publication of Sogliano 1887) rather than on autopsy. Most editors have considered the stone to be too damaged to read at this point, giving *kersna[s]ias* (in addition to Crawford *et al.* 2011 and Rix 2002, also Conway 1897: 1.120–21; Franchi De Bellis 1981: 142). I examined the inscription at S. Maria Capua Vetere, Museo Antica Capua, 24 September 2013. A damaged patch on the stone leads to a small first <a>, as noted by Crawford *et al.* (2011), below the top line of the other letters in the line, including the next <a>. The damaged patch extends to the following <ɥ>, which can just be seen. The top line of the first <a> clearly extends quite a distance left past the second vertical, and there may possibly be the bottom part of a vertical stroke following the extended top horizontal of the <a>, which, however, does not quite reach as far as the horizontal. If the top stroke and the vertical formed a <ɥ>, it would be very broad; but this could be due to the unevenness of the rock here. The presence of a <ɥ> here seems to me to be possible, but far from certain.

²⁰ The evidence consists of *pumperias* (× 2 Capua 4/Cp 11), *pumperi(as)* (Capua 14/Cp 26), *púmperiafs* (Capua 21/Cp 32), *púmperiais* (Capua 25/Cp 30, Capua 26/Cp 29), *púmperia(s)* (Capua 27/Cp 28), *heriam* (Capua 34/Cp 37).

definite instance of either geminated /r/ or loss of **-r̥-*, and it is therefore possible that it is really only a spelling mistake.

A piece of evidence more recently suggested for the treatment of **-r̥-* may be found in the name **heírens** (Campania or Samnium 6/ZO 1), **heí(renis)** (Teruentum 30/tSa 47), **heírene(is)** (Histonium 10/Fr 8). According to Meiser (1993: 257–8), this name is an original gerundive **heriēdos*, from the verbal stem **ġ^her-je/o-* ‘want’, with the spelling <ir> representing a palatalised consonant /r^j/. That we are not dealing with a regular diphthong /ei/ in this name may be suggested by the spelling without <i> in **herenni(is)** (Pompeii 31/Po 41), and in a Latin inscription, but with Oscan morphology, *herenneis* (Teruentum 25), along with the forms of the name found in Latin sources *Herennus* and *Herennius* (Meiser 1993: 257 fn. 10). Again, an objection to this is that a stem **ġ^her-je/o-* is not completely certain for Oscan (see below). If the derivation is correct, and **vikturraí** is reliable evidence for gemination as well as palatalisation, it is somewhat surprising, even given the possibility of not writing geminate consonants double in Oscan orthography, that all our instances of this name have only single <r, r>. If the spelling with <ri> was the standard spelling of **-r̥-*, as seems likely, since it is attested fairly frequently, albeit only in Capua, and since this is how all other consonant plus **-r̥-* sequences are spelt in the Oscan alphabet, it is also surprising that this name consistently adopts a ‘newer’, non-standard spelling, since names are known normally to retain archaic spellings.

On the basis of the evidence from the Oscan and Latin alphabets, we can thus conclude the following: that **-r̥-* following a consonant had caused gemination of that consonant when it was /k/, /t/, /l/, or /n/. Although we have no evidence from these alphabets for the sequence **-d̥-* it is plausible, especially given the development of initial **d̥-*, that gemination occurred here too. Palatalisation of the preceding consonant had taken place – at least at Bantia – by the time of the Tabula Bantina (beginning of the first century BC), followed by loss of **-r̥-* and assibilation of the stops. It seems likely that palatalisation had also occurred, at least at a phonetic level, in the areas using the Oscan alphabet; it is

possible that **-i̇-* had also been lost, at least after **-r-*, by the second century BC, at least in the area of Teruentum.

We can now turn to the evidence for consonant plus **-i̇-* sequences in the Greek alphabet. As we shall see, the data corroborates the evidence for gemination found in the Oscan alphabet, and provides new evidence for both widespread palatalisation and loss of **-i̇-*. First, however, we must discuss the omission of a number of forms from our collection of evidence which are unlikely to reflect **-C_i-*. In the main, we can assume that <ι> preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel will represent **-i̇-*. Sabellic had inherited from Proto-Indo-European noun and adjective suffixes in both **-i̇V-* and **-ii̇V-* (Balles 1999: 5–7), but it appears that all cases of **-ii̇V-* were reduced to **-i̇V-* in Sabellic. We know this partly because gemination of a preceding consonant is written by means of double letters in Oscan-alphabet inscriptions even when the consonant is followed by the original suffix **-i̇io-* ‘belonging to, pertaining to’, as in **mamertti̇ais** (e.g. Capua 25/Cp 30) ‘belonging to Mars’ < **mamerti̇i̇āis*, and partly because of evidence from Umbrian, where the lack of rhotacism of word-internal **-s-* to /r/ in Umbrian **plenasier** (IT Va 2, 14) ‘ides’ < **plēnasi̇ōis* is because **-s-* is not intervocalic after reduction of **-ii̇-* to **-i̇-* (Buck 1928: 66–7; Meiser 1986: 63).²¹

A possible exception to the general assumption that all sequences of **-C_ii̇-* had become **-C_i-* is the sequence **-ui̇i̇-*, which may have remained **-ui̇i̇-* (or have become **-u̇i̇-* and then become **-u̇i̇-* again). But the evidence for this from the Oscan alphabet is uncertain, and the evidence from the Greek forms may have a bearing on the question, so it will be included with the other evidence in Table 42 to start with. However, there is one category of evidence which must certainly be omitted, i.e. gentilicia whose nominative singular is in /ies/ (or /ies/), written <ι̇ε̇ς>, accusative singular /iom/ spelt <ι̇ομ>, genitive singular /ieis/ spelt <ι̇ε̇ι̇ς>. As discussed at pp. 47–8, Oscan had both praenomina and gentilicia formed by means of a suffix in **-i̇io-* (e.g. praenomen **statis**, Bouianum 98/Sa 36, gentilicium **hėirennis**, Nola 3/Cm 6). It also had gentilicia derived from the praenomina in **-i̇io-*, apparently

²¹ On **plenasier** see Untermann (2000: 565–6), Weiss (2010: 35).

Consonants

Table 42: *-C_i- sequences

Inscription	Date	<i> present	<i> absent
Metapontum 1/ Lu 37	c. 400–375	μεδικιαι	
Laos 2/Lu 46	330–320	αραδιαν φιβιαν	σπελ(ι)αν νοψ(ι)α(ν)
Paestum 2	c. 300	μινιης	
Petelia 2	c. 300	πακφιω νοφιo	και{αι}δ<i>ω καιδικω μαμερττοι
Potentia 20/ Lu 28	325–275†		
Numistro 1/Lu 4	300–275		μεδδικεν
Crimisa 2/Lu 24	300–200	ωυδδιης	
Potentia 17/ Lu 15	300–200	ουτιαναι	οκ(ι)ιης
Potentia 40/ Lu 13	250–200	διoφιoι	
Potentia 18	225–200		μα]μερτοι
Potentia 16/ Lu 32	Either side 200		καποροιιννα[ι]
Potentia 10/Lu 7	200–175	διωφιας	
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†		ηηιρενς ηηιρ(ενηις)
Potentia 23/ Lu 64	125–100	λωφκτηις	
Tauriani 1/ tLu 13	c. 100	ταυριανουμ	

by addition of a further *-iō-, to give a nominative singular which in the Oscan alphabet is spelt with <iis> (sometimes <iis>), with <ies> in the Latin alphabet, and with <ιες> in the Greek alphabet. In the nominative singular and accusative singular of praenomina or gentilicia in *-iō- no gemination of a preceding consonant is found,²² since the sequences *-C_iios and *-C_iiom became *-Cis and *-Cim respectively by final syncope prior to gemination of a preceding consonant by *-i- in Oscan. In the other cases, however, where the vowel following *-i- did not undergo syncope,

²² Except where this seems to be due to ‘expressive gemination’ (Lejeune 1976: 82–3).

gemination did occur, with the result that we find forms like genitive singular **minnieís** (Capua 20/Cp 25) beside nominative singular **minis** (e.g. Teanum Sidicinum 30/Si 4). In the gentilicia, the nom. sg. <iis> represents something like /i.is/ or /ies/, while Latin <ies> and Greek <ιες> may represent /ies/ or /ies/. Whatever the quality of the final vowel, it is preceded by /i/ rather than /j/, so no gemination is found here. Outside the nominative singular the spelling <ii> is retained, e.g. accusative singular **kluvatiium** (Capua 34/Cp 37), genitive singular **beriiéis** (Teanum Sidicinum 26/Si 5), dative singular **úpsiiúí** (Venafrum 1/Si 2), genitive plural **magiium** (Capua 15/Cp 8). Although the extension of the spelling <ií> to the oblique cases in forms like **kastríkííéis** (Pompeii 4/Po 36), where a sequence /ie/ seems unlikely, suggests a certain amount of artificiality in the orthography of gentilicia, we should probably understand spellings like accusative singular <iium> to represent /iom/ (presumably phonetically [ijom]). Consequently, in no part of the paradigm of gentilicia in <iis> was there the environment for gemination, and we do not find any examples of double consonants.²³

In the Greek alphabet, the spelling system is slightly different. Praenomina in **-iō-* have a nominative singular whose ending is written <ις> (e.g. [Υ]αφις Buxentum 3/Lu 45) representing /is/. In oblique forms like μινιης (Paestum 2) /mi:njeis/, <ι> represents /j/. In the nominative singular, gentilicia of the <iis> type are usually spelt <ιες> (e.g. οπιες Cosilinum 2/Lu 40), although we have one example of a spelling <ιιες> (αβολιιε[ς] Numistro 2), which is presumably an attempt to write the phonetic sequence [ijes] (or [ijes]). Unlike in the Oscan alphabet, outside the nominative singular we never find <ιε> (or <ιι>), but only <ι>: e.g. accusative singular αλφιομ (Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43), genitive singular (h)εριης (Crimisa 2/Lu 24). Consequently, we can see that /iV/ and /jV/ are usually spelt the same in the Greek alphabet (as noted by Rix 1979: 115).

Recognition of this spelling convention is important for our investigation of the impact of **-i-* on a preceding consonant,

²³ The <kk> in the gentilicium **dekkiis** (Saepinum 4/Sa 59) must be a case of ‘expressive gemination’.

because it means that the non-nominative-singular cases of gentilicia of the <iis> type are not instantly recognisable in inscriptions written in the Greek alphabet. Instead, it is important to check, on the basis of context and what other forms of the names are attested, whether a given form belongs to a gentilicium of the <is> type, in which case it can be included in the evidence, or the <iis> type, in which case it cannot. The same applies to women's names. The vast majority of our evidence for Oscan female names comes from inscriptions in the Greek alphabet, whence it appears that Oscan women had both a praenomen and a gentilicium (see [Chapter 1 fn. 9](#)). It seems plausible that these follow the same derivational processes as male names; consequently, we can only be sure that a gentilicium like $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota\omicron$ (Petelia 2) must reflect /sta:tio/ rather than /sta:tjo/ because we have evidence that the equivalent male gentilicium was **staatiis** (Teruentum 12/Sa 13). Without evidence of whether the equivalent male gentilicium was of the <is> or <iis> type, we cannot be sure whether <i> in a female gentilicium represents /i/ or /j/.

The following forms are omitted from the data because it cannot be certain they include the sequence *-C*i*-.

$\delta\iota\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2). Could be a Greek nom. sg. rather than an Oscan nom. pl.

$\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\kappa<\iota>\eta(1)\varsigma$ (Crimisa 1/Lu 23). Not clear whether this gentilicium is in *-*i*os or *-*i*ios, or if it should be read $\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\kappa\tau\eta(1)\varsigma$.

$\phi\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\nu$ (Laos 2/Lu 46). Probably a gentilicium in *-*i*ā.

$\phi\alpha\rho\iota\epsilon(1)\varsigma$ (Laos 2/Lu 46). Not clear whether this is a praenomen in *-*i*os or a gentilicium in *-*i*ios.

<h> $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau$ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). May represent **her̥jest* or **herēst*.

<h> $\omicron\rho\iota\omicron\mu$ (Crimisa 3/Lu 44). Not clear whether this gentilicium is in *-*i*os or *-*i*ios.

<h> $\omicron\rho\tau\eta\iota\varsigma$ (Vibo 8/Lu 6). Not clear whether this gentilicium is in *-*i*os or *-*i*ios.

$\lambda\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$ (Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47). Not clear that this is a praenomen in *-*i*os.

$\mu\epsilon\phi\iota\tau\iota$ [(Potentia 22/Lu 31). Unclear whether this is a form in *-*i*o-.

πακ_τη_{ις} (Cosilinum 2/ Lu 40). Not clear that this is a praenomen in **-iōs*.

πακ_τη_{ις} (Crimisa 1/Lu 23). Could represent **paktiēs*, but **pakteīs* (or **pakueīs*) is also possible.

πακ_τη_{ις}<ι>_ς. Could represent **paktiēs*, but could be a mistake for πακ_τη_{ις} < **pakteīs*.

πον_διου[μ] (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). A loan-word from Latin so may reflect /pondium/ rather than /pondjum/.

σκα_φριω (Petelia 2). Not clear whether this gentilicium is in **-iā* or **-iīā*.

στα_τιο, στα_τιω (Petelia 2). Probably a gentilicium in **-iīā*.

τρ_ε<β>ω (Petelia 2). Not clear that this is a praenomen in **-iā*.

As we shall see, there are various ways in which the sequence **-C_i-* can be spelt in the Greek alphabet: the preceding consonant may be written double or single, and <ι> may be present or absent. Since absence of double writing of geminates is always variable in the Greek alphabet (see pp. 159–64), this variation is probably not meaningful. Therefore, in Table 42, the data is separated into forms in which <ι> is present following the consonant and those in which it is absent.

Although the majority of forms do not have the consonant preceding **-i-* written double, the three forms μαμερ_ττοι, ωσδδ_ιη_{ις}, and καποροιν_να[ι] provide evidence that gemination did occur; ωσδδ_ιη_{ις} shows that, as might be expected, it also affected /d/, for which the Oscan and Latin alphabets provided no evidence. Even more strikingly, as the table shows, in eleven of the twenty-three forms expected <ι> for etymological **-i-* is missing. Where it has been noticed, lack of the <ι> has not had any cohesive treatment.²⁴ In some cases, it has been put down to mistakes (e.g. for μεδδ_ικεν by Lejeune 1985: 54 and by Del Tutto Palma in Capano and Del Tutto Palma 1990: 108). However, Del Tutto Palma (1991: 185–6), discussing the reading of μαμερ_ττοι (Potentia 20/Lu 28), suggests that the absence of <ι> may be connected with the palatalisation and assibilation of preceding

²⁴ Cf. Lejeune's (1990: 34) comment 'pour dentale sourde devant yod, pas d'altération'; note that he reads μαμερ_ττοι for μαμερ_ττοι (Potentia 20/Lu 28).

stops by *-*z*- suggested by the Oscan and Latin alphabets.²⁵ It is possible that absence of <ι> could be a simple error without any phonetic basis in some cases (for example, σπελ(ι)αν and νοψ(ι)α(ν) appear in the same inscription as φαριε(ι)ς, which may also be missing an <ι>, and doubts about ηηρενς, ηηρ(εν)ης), Potentia 1/Lu 5, have already been raised above). But there seem to be too many cases of missing <ι> for this to be entirely accidental.

Loss of <ι> is attested after /t/ (μαμερττοι, Potentia 20/Lu 28, μαμερτοι, Potentia 18), /k/ (καιδικω, Petelia 2, μεδδικεν, Numistro 1/Lu 4, οκ(ι)ης, Potentia 17/Lu 15), /s/ (νοψ(ι)α(ν), Laos 2/Lu 46), /l/ (σπελ(ι)αν, Laos 2/Lu 46), /n/ (καποροιννα[ι], Potentia 16/Lu 32) and perhaps /r/ (ηηρενς, ηηρ(εν)ης), Potentia 1/Lu 5). Gemination is attested for /d/ (ωυδδης, Crimisa 2/Lu 24), /t/ (μαμερττοι, Potentia 20/Lu 28) and /n/ (καποροιννα[ι], Potentia 16/Lu 32). Although gemination is written relatively seldom, since geminate consonants were never compulsorily written in the Greek alphabet, it seems reasonable to suppose that gemination also occurred before *-*z*- at least in those consonants in which we also find double consonants written in the Oscan and Latin alphabets (i.e. /t/, /k/, /l/, /n/, /r/). Since /s/ is never written double in the Oscan alphabet, it seems plausible that *-*z*- was lost after /s/ in the Greek alphabet inscriptions without causing gemination.

Connected with the absence of <ι> after a consonant is its unexpected presence before the consonant, as seen in καποροιννα[ι] (Potentia 16/Lu 32). This is taken to go back to **kaproniā* by Lejeune (Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971: 56–7; see also Lejeune 1990: 32, 34),²⁶ with what he describes as sporadic *i*-umlaut or *i*-infection of the vowel in the preceding syllable, to produce a diphthong. If this is correct, we seem to have gemination of *-*n*- by following *-*z*-, with subsequent *i*-infection to produce a diphthong in the previous syllable, and then loss of

²⁵ It is also possible, as discussed by Del Tutto Palma (1991: 185–6), that the second <τ> of μαμερττοι was originally a <τ> ‘corrected’ to an <ι> by extending the vertical stroke. The plausibility of the reading μαμερττοι has now been supported by μα]μερτοι (Potentia 18).

²⁶ The correct form is in fact **kaprōniā*; see pp. 202–3.

*-*i̇*- (Keaney 1982). If we accept Meiser's (1993) etymology of $\eta\eta\rho\epsilon\nu\varsigma$, $\eta\eta\rho(\epsilon\nu\eta\iota\varsigma) < *g^h\epsilon\rho i\epsilon ndos$, the same process may have occurred here. Lejeune's formulation of this effect clearly envisages it being caused by *-*i*- as well as by *-*i̇*- in the following syllable, since he suggests that it took place also in $\beta\rho\alpha\{\iota\}\tau\eta\iota\varsigma$ (Potentia 17/Lu 15) 'favour' (gen. sg.), which he assumes to be an *i*-stem **brāti-*;²⁷ Poccetti's derivation of $\lambda\omicron\iota\kappa(15)$ (Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47), $\lambda\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\nu$ (Laos 2/Lu 46), $\lambda\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$ (Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47) from $\lambda\omicron\phi\kappa\iota\varsigma$ (Laos 3/Lu 63) also points to /i/ as the source of *i*-infection. But $\beta\rho\alpha\{\iota\}\tau\eta\iota\varsigma$ is a consonant-stem, not an *i*-stem (Untermann 2000: 149–51), as demonstrated by $\beta\rho\alpha\tau\omega\mu$ (Anxia 1/Lu 39).²⁸ And $\lambda\omicron\iota\kappa(15)$ may simply be of different origin from $\lambda\omicron\phi\kappa\iota\varsigma$ (Salomies 2008: 24).²⁹ So it seems reasonable to restrict the environment of the process to vowels in the syllable before *-*i̇*-.

How should we interpret the evidence of the effects of *-*i̇*- with regard to the phonetics and phonology of Oscan? If we take the evidence of $\kappa\alpha\pi\theta\omicron\rho\omicron\iota\nu\alpha\{\iota\}$, and perhaps $\eta\eta\rho\epsilon\nu\varsigma$, $\eta\eta\rho(\epsilon\nu\eta\iota\varsigma)$ at face value, the development **-Vn*i̇*- > *-Vnn*i̇*- > *-V*inn*-* is similar to that found in (Attic-Ionic) Greek, where *-*i̇*- is lost after nasals and *-*r*-, forming a diphthong with a preceding non-high vowel (Lejeune 1972c: 155–6). As noted by Lejeune, in Greek this development is probably the result of palatalisation of the consonant before *-*i̇*-, and it is plausible to see the absence of <i> in the forms given above as the result of gemination of (some) consonants before *-*i̇*-, followed by palatalisation with loss of *-*i̇*-.

Retention of <i> in the spellings of some forms may have several explanations. There does not seem to be any obvious chronological development or regional variation. The loss of *-*i̇*- seems to have taken place quite early, the first examples being from Laos 2/Lu 46, which is datable to 330–320 BC. There is no

²⁷ Lejeune (Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971: 56) originally also included *neirtis*, but this was subsequently read *ueirtis* (Lu 58, and Lejeune 1990: 16) and is at least as likely to be Latin as Oscan (Michael Crawford p.c. and see Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1597).

²⁸ And note a similar error in the second part of this formula in $\delta\alpha\tau\alpha\{\iota\}\varsigma$ (Potentia 23/Lu 64).

²⁹ Poccetti (1993a: 227, 1993b: 166) mentions the form *lúvikis*, beside *lúvkis*, in Capua 33/Cp 36 as evidence of *i*-infection in this name. However, it seems possible that *lúvikis* could be a mistake (cf. the mistakenly placed word divider in *úh{.}tavis*), perhaps for **lúvkis*, since elsewhere in this inscription we twice find the gentilical suffix <iis> wrongly used in praenomina (*úppiis* and *statis*).

clear geographical divide between spellings with <ι> and those without, and nor is there any obvious divide between text type such as public/official and private/unofficial: lack of <ι> is found in curse-tablets (Laos 2/Lu 46, Petelia 2) and private dedications (Potentia 20/Lu 28), but also dedications by magistrates (Numistro 1/Lu 4) and the commemoration of erection of statues by a magistrate (Potentia 1/Lu 5). As discussed shortly below, it seems plausible that $*-\underline{u}i-$ had developed to $*-\underline{u}i\dot{i}-$ at some stage, so $\pi\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\omega$, $\nu\omicron\tau\iota\omicron$ (Petelia 2), $\delta\iota\omicron\tau\iota\omicron$ (Potentia 40/Lu 13), $\delta\iota\omega\tau\iota\alpha\varsigma$ (Potentia 10/Lu 7) should not be counted as examples of spelling of $*-\dot{i}-$. The use of <ι> in forms like $\lambda\omega\tau\kappa\tau\iota\eta\varsigma$ (Potentia 23/Lu 64) may suggest that $*-\dot{i}-$ had not been lost for some speakers, or that there was a more traditional spelling of the sequence $*-C\dot{i}-$ that was retained even after this sequence had developed to $/(C^j)C^j/$: this would then explain cases like Potentia 17/Lu 15, where we find both $\omicron\kappa(i)\eta\varsigma$ (with ‘phonetic’ spelling) and $\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\alpha\upsilon\alpha$ (with ‘traditional’ spelling). However, it is also possible that $*-\dot{i}-$ had been lost for all speakers, with individual scribes choosing to mark the resulting palatalisation by using <ι> either before or after the consonant, or not representing it at all. Interpreting the evidence in this way would have the advantage of seeing in the apparent ‘*i*-infection’ of $\kappa\alpha\pi\omicron\rho\omicron\iota\nu\nu\alpha[1]$ not a ‘sporadic’ sound change, but simply one of three possible approaches adopted in trying to mark palatalisation of a consonant.

I suggest the following results for $*-C\dot{i}-$ clusters. The combination of the Greek and Oscan alphabet evidence suggests that gemination of (at least) voiceless dental and velar stops, /d/, /l/, /n/ and probably /r/ occurred. The combination of the Greek and Latin alphabet evidence suggests that at least in Lucania and Bruttium, $*-\dot{i}-$ was lost, with palatalisation of the same consonants that underwent gemination, as early as the fourth century BC. The absence of <ι> after /s/ in $\nu\omicron\psi(i)\alpha(v)$ suggests that palatalisation of /s/ to $/s^j/$ may also have occurred, although other evidence would be required to be sure of this. On the basis of the Oscan alphabet evidence, this took place without gemination. It is possible that palatalisation and loss of $*-\dot{i}-$ may have taken place, at least for /r/, in (some) areas using the Oscan alphabet by the second century BC. Given the relatively

standardised nature of Oscan-alphabet orthography, it is possible that this may have happened more widely and earlier, but that it was consistently written by using <i> following the consonant. In the Tabula Bantina, voiceless dental and velar stops also underwent assibilation. There is no evidence for this development in the Greek-alphabet inscriptions; it may be a very late or areally restricted development.

As mentioned above, a number of the forms in which <i> is written have a preceding /w/: $\pi\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\omega$, $\nu\omicron\tau\iota\omicron$ (Petelia 2), $\delta\iota\omicron\tau\iota\omicron$ (Potentia 40/Lu 13), $\delta\iota\omega\tau\iota\alpha\varsigma$ (Potentia 10/Lu 7). It has been suggested by Buck that there was no sequence /wj/ in Oscan and Umbrian (speaking of the evidence from both Umbrian and Oscan):

[s]ince **ii** is so evidently the normal spelling in the case of vowel *i*, there is the strongest presumption that, where the spelling in the native alphabets is simply **i**, this must represent something different, namely the consonantal *i*. And this is often corroborated by other evidence, such as doubling of consonants in Oscan ... Yet some exceptions must be admitted. In O[sc]. **Dekkiarím** and U. **tekvias i** cannot possibly represent a consonantal *i*; O[sc]. **Iúvias** is not to be separated from **Iúviia** ... Consonantal *i* is also impossible in U. **arvia**, and improbable even after **v** preceded by a vowel, as in **aviekla** etc. It is perhaps for the very reason that there would be no ambiguity, that **i** is so often used in place of **ii** after **v**. (Buck 1928: 28)

This claim rests on the assumption that <ii> represents /i/ [ij] before a vowel, which is explicitly stated by Buck: '[i]n the Latin alphabet it is impossible to know whether an *i* stands for consonantal or vocalic *i*, but in the native alphabets, where the latter regularly appears as **ii**, a single **i** is evidence of consonantal value, though there are some few cases in which it is used carelessly in place of **ii**' (Buck 1928: 66). Thus, for Buck there is a distinction between <ii>, which always represents /i/ (i.e. [ij]) and <i>, which usually represents /j/, but sometimes represents /i/. Not all scholars agree that <ii> in these forms is an attempt to write /i/. According to Meiser (1986: 201), <ii> in Oscan represents /j/, not /i/, although he points out the exception of gentilicia in <iis>. Arena (1966: 443) seems to admit the possibility of <ii> representing /i/ in borrowings from Greek, although he assumes that there are cases of <ii> representing /j/ (Arena 1966: 450).

The evidence is in fact rather messy, and does not entirely back up Buck's claim. Leaving aside for a moment the evidence for a preponderance of <ii> after <v>, as we shall see, there is independent evidence for both <ii> and <i> representing /i/, but also some evidence which seems to show /j/ being spelt with <ii> as well as <i>. Since *-i̯ō- normally became *-iō- in Proto-Sabellic, the only way to prove that <ii> could be a spelling for /i/ is to look at words borrowed from Greek and Latin, where we do not normally find /j/ following a consonant. The data here does suggest that it was possible for /i/ to be written <ii>: we find **meēlīkiieīs** (Pompeii 13/Po 1) and **arkiia** (Pompeii 65/Po 65), which are borrowings from Greek Μελίχιος and Ἀρχίος respectively. However, we also find **santia** (Capua 51/Cm 40) for Greek Σανθίας and **kvintieīs** (Pallanum 5) as the genitive of the Latin name *Quintius*. So this suggests that both <ii> and <i> were possible spellings for /i/. However, we also have the form **vīkturraī** (Teruentum 20/Sa 24), mentioned above, in which absence of <i> and double writing of <rr> suggest that /i/ in Latin *Victōria* has been reduced to /j/ in Oscan.³⁰ This raises the possibility that in all these forms /i/ in the lending language was fitted to Oscan phonotactics and produced as /j/, but it is equally possible that **vīkturraī** had been borrowed earlier into Oscan and more thoroughly adapted to Oscan phonology than the other names. Consequently, although the evidence is not completely clear, it is at least plausible that <ii> was a possible spelling for /i/ after a consonant and before a vowel.

However, there are also a pair of examples in which <ii> appears to represent /j/ rather than /i/ in this context. These are the two verbs **heriīad** (Capua 33/Cp 36) 'he may wish' and **fakiīad** (Capua 24/Cp 33) 'he may do'.³¹ These words are subjunctives apparently formed by adding *-ā- to present stems

³⁰ We know that **vīkturraī** must be a loan-word because an inherited *-kt- cluster would have given <ht> in Oscan (Buck 1928: 89).

³¹ Note that the reading **fakiīad** of Crawford et al. (2011) is a new reading; this word was read by Rix (2002) and earlier editors as **fakīiad**. My own autopsy (S. Maria Capua Vetere, Museo Antica Capua, 24 September 2013) leads me to conclude that, on balance, the reversed diacritical on the <ī> is intentional, although it must be admitted that there are similar, accidental, notches on other letters. The reversed stroke is also found in **fīet** (side B, l. 11), although there it is much longer, and below centre. I also wonder whether the first <ī> in **fakiīad** is an afterthought: it is rather close to the <k>, and smaller and fainter than both <k> and <ī> on either side. If this is correct, it would suggest an

in *-*ie/o-*, as one would expect on the basis of Latin (Weiss 2009: 418; cf. *faciat*) and would consequently be expected to go back to **heriāt* and **fakiāt*. However, although this is the most straightforward explanation, there are other possibilities. Regarding **heriīad**, there seem to be a number of stems to the verb root **her-* attested in Sabellic. The only direct evidence for a present stem **her-*ie/o-** consists of Umbrian future forms like **heries** (e.g. IT Ib 10) ‘you will want’ (Untermann 2000: 321–4; García Castillero 2000: 312–16; for a different view see Schrijver 2003: 81–3). A **-ie/o-* stem would also be compatible with forms like Umbrian **herter** (e.g. IT Ila 40) ‘it is desired’ and Oscan *herest* (Bantia 1.12, 18, 24, 26/Lu 1), <h>ερεστ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62), but these could also reflect a thematic present with the suffix **-e/o-*. There is further evidence for a **-ie/o-* stem in Latin *horitur* (Ennius 424, Skutsch 1985: 108) ‘encourages’, and outside Italic, e.g. in Ved. *hāryati* ‘delight in’ and Greek χαίρω ‘rejoice at’ (LIV 176–7). But there is also Sabellic evidence for a present stem **her-*ē-**, in the form of the Umbrian past participle **eretu** (IT Ila 4), *heritu* (e.g. IT VIa 27), *hereitu* (IT VIa 37), only found in the ablative.³² If Oscan also had the stem **her-*ē-** as well as **her-*ie/o-**, **heriīad** could come from **her-*ē-ā-t**, although we would probably expect this to be spelt ^x**heriād**, as in **pútiād** ‘he may be able’ < **pot-*ē-ā-t**. An alternative possibility is that **heriīad** represents the same subjunctive as we find in the Umbrian third person singular present subjunctive

original spelling **fakiād**, corrected to **fakiīad**. What the implications of this would be for our analysis of this form are unclear to me.

³² Past participles of *ē*-stems seem to have past participles in **-ēto-* in Umbrian, on the basis of this form and **tacez** (e.g. IT Ia 26), *tases* (e.g. IT VIa 55), *tasis* (IT Vlb 23) ‘silent’ < **takēto-* (cf. Lat. *taceō*; Untermann 2000: 731–2). García Castillero (2000: 363) argues that **tacez** should be reconstructed as **taketo-*, with the one spelling of the final vowel with <ɣ> in *tasis* being a mistake (the spelling with <e> or <ɛ> is found 21 times). For **eretu** he prefers a reconstruction **herito-* (García Castillero 2000: 313). While **taketo-* would have the support of Latin *tacitus* ‘silent’, **taketo-* in Latin is probably a replacement of original **takēto-*, since *taceō* is by origin a stative verb **tHk-eh₁-* (de Vaan 2008: 604–5), and these statives originally formed past participles in **-ēto-* (Weiss 2009: 440). As regards **herito-*, there is no good comparative evidence for the existence of a past participle in **-ito-*: the forms in Latin mentioned by Weiss (2009: 442) (*genitus* ‘brought into being’, *cognitus* ‘known’) probably come from **ġen_{h1}-eto-* and **ġnh₃-eto-* respectively (Vine 1998: 37–39, 56–9; *cognitus* could also be the regular result of **-ġnh₃-to-* in a compound, Schrijver 1991: 199–202; Zair 2012a: 259–62). Normally, we would expect the past participles of a *ie/o-* stem to be derived from the bare verb root, not the present stem (cf., in Latin, *faciō* ~ *factus*, *capiō* ~ *captus*).

heriiei (IT Ila 16; also *herie* IT VIb 19, 20, *heriei* IT VIIa 3 in the meaning ‘either, or’) < **her-īē*-.³³ For Oscan an exact correspondence to the Umbrian form would be spelt ^x**her(i)id**. Another possibility would give us the actually attested spelling. We could suppose that the Oscan form, as in Umbrian, started as **g^her-ih₁-* > **her-ī-*. However, unlike Umbrian, which remodelled this to **her-īē-*, this unusual subjunctive was remodelled in Oscan by adding the productive subjunctive suffix *-ā- to it, to give **her-ī-ā-*, which would be expected to be spelt **heriiad**. As for **fakiīad**, if the reading of Crawford *et al.* (2011) is correct, it cannot go back to **fak-ī-ā-t*. Instead, it looks as though it ought to be reconstructed as **fak-īē-ā-t*, which could only be explained as a remodelling of the old optative suffix with productive *-ā-. If the traditional reading **fakiīad** is correct, it could come from **fak-ī-ā-*, which would be exactly parallel to **heriiad**. The simplest explanation for **heriiad** and **fakiīad** does seem to be to see them as *-ā- subjunctives to *-īe/o- presents. Nonetheless, the multitude of other stems seen in Umbrian at least allows the possibility of an alternative interpretation for **heriiad**, while this analysis only works for **fakiīad** if the correct reading is in fact **fakiīad**.

In the Oscan alphabet, therefore, both /i/ and /j/ between a consonant and a vowel seem to be capable of being spelt with both <i> and <ii>, so we cannot say definitively that the spelling with <ii> after <v> must imply a pronunciation [wij] rather than [wj]. Nonetheless, it is certainly the case that <ii> is found in the Oscan alphabet rather frequently after <v>, as in **diīviiai** (Bouianum or Saepinum not Aesernia 1/Sa 22) ‘divine’ < **diūiāi*, **iūviia(m)** (Pompeii 13/Po 1) ‘of Jupiter’ < **diōiām*, **menereviius** (Surrentum 1/Cm 2) ‘of Minerva’ < **meneruiōs*, in the praenomen **nūviiúí** (Venafrum 1/Si 2), and perhaps **úviiú** (Aufidena 3) and

³³ This appears to be an original root aorist optative formed with the Indo-European optative suffix *-īeh₁-, as seen in Old Latin *siet* ‘(s)he may be’. However, it would be surprising to have full grade in both the root and the suffix, so Rix (1976: 321 fn. 20) reconstructs **g^her-ih₁-*, with the suffix replaced by the full grade *-īeh₁- after the verb ‘to be’ **h₁sīeh₁-*. García Castillero (2000: 312–16) objects that no root aorist is attested for this root in any other Indo-European language and suggests that the Umbrian form is due to influence from the semantically similar **uel-īeh₁-* (cf. Lat. *uelim* ‘I may want’). However, the suffix would be expected always to be *-ih₁-, never *-īeh₁- in *uelim* (Weiss 2009: 416–17).

siviiú (Aeclanum 3/Hi 4) if these are praenomina.³⁴ The same sequence is spelt <vi> in **iúviass** (Capua 22/Cp 31) and **diuvia[s]**, **diuvia[s]** (Capua 9/Cp 10), **kalúvieis** (Capua 25/Cp 30), **kaľúvieis** (Capua 26/Cp 29), **úvies** (× 2) (Herculaneum 2/Cm 38–39), **dekkviarím** (Pompeii 13/Po 1), **gaavieis** (Aufidena 3), perhaps **avia** (Pompeii 127).

The evidence from the Greek alphabet provides some data, which, although more meagre, is perhaps stronger than the Oscan-alphabet evidence. Firstly, there seem to be no cases of loss of **-i-* after **-u-*, while this is quite common after other consonants, since <i> is always present after <f> in **πακφιω**, **νοφιo** (Petelia 2), **διoφιoι** (Potentia 40/Lu 13). Secondly, we have the form **διωφιoς** (Potentia 10/Lu 7). Unlike in the Oscan alphabet, <ii> is not a common spelling, even for /i/ (the genitives of gentilicia of the <iες> type, which represent [ijεis], are always written <iες>). Consequently, its usage in **διωφιoς** looks like an attempt to spell out the glide in the sequence [wij], just as it must do in **αβολιε[s]** (Numistro 2), where <iες> represents [ijes]. I conclude that while Buck is probably wrong to claim that <ii> in the Oscan alphabet can only represent /i/ between a consonant and vowel, the Greek-alphabet evidence backs up his claim that **-uī-* became [wij] in Oscan.

Nasals before another consonant

In the Oscan and Latin alphabets, there is plentiful evidence for the loss of nasals before word-internal and word-final /t/, for example **heretatei** (Cumae 5/Cm 11) < **herentatei*, **fiŋet** (Capua 24/Cp 34) < **fiŋent*, and a small amount of evidence for the loss of nasals before word-internal /s/ and /h/, which consists of **esskazsiúm**

³⁴ For women with praenomina see [Chapter 1 fn. 9](#). It is also possible that in **núviiú**, **úviiú** and **siviiú** we have a mistaken use of the gentilicial suffix in a praenomen rather than an instance of **-uī-* > **-uī-*; this occurs in one other inscription (Capua 33/Cp 36) with the apparent praenomina **úppiis** and **statiis** (Lejeune 1976: 79). One could remove these forms by taking l. 4 **úppiis. hellevjis** and l. 6 **statiis. gaviis** as containing the gentilicia of two separate people whose praenomina **plasis. bivellis** and **lúvikis. úh{.} tavis** are given in lines 3 and 5 respectively. But there is little warrant for this, because each of the first two lines of the inscription consists of a praenomen followed in the same line by a gentilicium.

(Surrentum 1/Cm 2) ‘disembarkation point’ < **esskansseom* < **eks-skand-tej-o-* (Untermann 2000: 235), **eestínt** (Teruentum 34/Sa 1) ‘they are in place’ < **en-sta-ē-nti* (Lejeune 1993: 265–9), *mistreis* (Bantia 1.18/Lu 1), <*m*>*istreis* (Bantia 1.35/Lu 1) ‘smaller (gen. sg.)’ < **minstreis* < **min-is-ter-eis* (Untermann 2000: 478), and **sahtúm** (Teruentum 34.A 17, B 20/Sa 1) < **sanhtom* < **sanktom* (Untermann 2000: 640). In all cases, this compares with examples where the spelling of the nasal is retained in *-*nt*- and *-*ns*- clusters (there are no other instances of *-*nh*- clusters), as in e.g. **herentateí** (Herculaneum 1/Cm 10), **sent** (Pompeii 7/Po 39) and as in **kúnsíf** (Teruentum 22), *minstreis* (Bantia 1.12, 27/Lu 1).³⁵ In the Greek-alphabet inscriptions we find a small amount of evidence for loss of a word-medial nasal before /s/ and word-medial and word-final nasal before /t/ (see Table 43).

The combined Oscan-, Latin- and Greek-alphabet evidence suggests that in the sequences *-*ns*-, *-*nh*- and *-*nt*(-), the *-*n*- was lost (by at least some speakers). On the basis of **eestínt** and **sahtúm** it seems likely that a preceding vowel was also

³⁵ It happens that all examples of *-*ns*- clusters are in fact secondary, from sequences such as *-*nVs*-; original *-*ns* became *-*f* word-finally (Rix 1986), but there are no examples of primary medial *-*ns*- (contra Buck 1928: 72), since **kúsúl** (Pompeii 1/Po 54) ‘consul’ (the reading of **kúlsúl** Aufidena 1/Sa 17 is uncertain), **keenzstur** (Teruentum 8/Sa 4), *censtur* (Bantia 1.27, 28/Lu 1) ‘censor’, **kenzsur** (Histonium 1/Fr 1), *censtur* (Bantia 1.18, 20/Lu 1) ‘censors’, *censtom* (Bantia 1.20/Lu 1) ‘census’ (acc. sg.), *censaum* ‘to count in a census’ (Bantia 1.20/Lu 1), *censazet* ‘they will count in a census’ (Bantia 1.19/Lu 1), *censamur* ‘let him be counted in a census’ (Bantia 1.19/Lu 1), *censas* (Bantia 1 Adamesteanu fragment 8/Lu 1) ‘having been counted in a census’, *ancensto* (Bantia 1.22/Lu 1) ‘not counted in a census’, **kenssurineis** (Capua 29/Cp 24) ‘*Cēnsōrīnī*’ (cognomen, gen. sg.) are loan-words from, or influenced by equivalent words in, Latin (see Untermann 2000: 382–6 on **keenzstur** etc.). It is clear that spoken Latin underwent a loss of *-*n*- before *-*s*- (e.g. in *consul*), with lengthening and presumably nasalisation of the preceding vowel, by the third century bc. However, at least by the Classical period, and probably earlier, the standard spelling of words like *consul* was with <*ns*>, and a spelling pronunciation was probably current among some speakers and/or for some words (Poccetti 2006a; Weiss 2009: 171; Adams 2013: 178–82). Consequently, it is not possible to say whether the absence of <*n*> in **kúsúl** is the result of an Oscan or a Latin development. Conversely, the consistent presence of <*n*> in **keenzstur** etc. may partly be due to Latin spelling habits (especially in the forms in the Latin alphabet from the Tabula Bantina), and may partly reflect the establishment of a spelling pronunciation in Latin *cēnsōr* (cf. the usual spelling of *cēnsus* as κῆνσος in Greek papyri, although <*v*> is usually left out of Latin loan-words in this position; Gignac 1976–1981: 1.117–18), resulting in borrowing into Oscan with an intact cluster /*ns*/. The lengthening of the vowel shown in **keenzstur** may also be a Latin, rather than an Oscan, feature.

Nasals before another consonant

Table 43: *-ns- and *-nt- sequences

Inscription	Date	Nasal written	Nasal not written
Metapontum 1/ Lu 37	c. 400–375	καμψανας	
Laos 2/Lu 46	c. 330–320		νοψιν (× 2) νοψ(ι)α(ν)
Thurii Copia 1/ Lu 47	350–300	νομψις	
Caulonia 2	c. 325–300		φεζεις
Potentia 20/Lu 28	325–275†	νυμψδοι (× 2)	
Potentia 24/Lu 30	325–275		πεηετεφς
Potentia 26/Lu 20	300–200	νιυ]ν{π}ψηδ[ις	
Potentia 21/Lu 29	250–200	νυ]μψδοι	
Teuranus Ager 1/ Lu 43	Presumably before c. 200	νυμψιμ	
Potentia 22/Lu 31	Either side 200	φενζηι	
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†	κενσορτατηι	κωσ(τ)ιτ κωσ(τ)ιτ

lengthened, although this might have happened only in initial syllables, to which long vowels were otherwise restricted. There are several ways of assessing the evidence of **n*-loss. Since there is no obvious geographical factor, it is unlikely that it is a dialectal feature. It is possible that **n*- had been lost by all speakers. In this case, writing of **n*- might be a convention reflecting the failure to change the original spelling established when **n*- still existed. I think this explanation is unlikely, because *n*-loss already manifests itself in the spelling in the Greek alphabet in the fourth century, which does not allow very long for the establishment of an ‘original’ spelling, and also because the general variability of spelling in the Greek alphabet, as seen in this chapter and [Chapter 2](#), does not suggest to me the existence of conventions of this sort. For the Oscan alphabet such an explanation is more likely, since the spelling system there is more conventionalised, and also because we have no evidence for loss of **n*- before the third century (**fiíet** < **fient*, Capua 24/Cp 34, 300–250 BC) except

for one instance in a curse tablet (**are(n)tik[ai]**, Capua 34/Cp 37), which is to be dated to around 300 (see [fn. 37](#)), and whose spelling is unusual in other ways. For the Latin alphabet of the Tabula Bantina, given the apparently recent adoption of the Latin alphabet towards the end of the second century, it is unlikely that the spellings with <n> can represent a long-established tradition (although such a tradition, if it existed, could have been imported from the Greek or Oscan alphabets). Another possibility, if **-n-* had been lost altogether, is that a preceding vowel had been nasalised, and the variability of the writing with <n>, <v> and <ɥ> is due to uncertainty about how to write a nasalised vowel rather than a separate nasal. Alternatively, loss of the nasal may have been a phonetic rule rather than a phonological one, with variation between and within speakers, represented by variation in the spelling (for a comparable case in English see [Cohn 1993](#), esp. 59–69).³⁶

An interesting feature of the Greek-alphabet evidence is the absence of expected <μ> prior to <ψ> in $\nu\omicron\psi\iota\nu$ (× 2) and $\nu\omicron\psi(1)\alpha(\nu)$ in Laos 2/Lu 46 (cf. $\nu\omicron\mu\psi\iota\varsigma$ Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47, and $\nu\omicron\mu\psi\iota\mu$ Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43). This seems to suggest that in the (secondary) sequence **-ms-*, the **-m-* was also lost, presumably with concomitant nasalisation of the previous vowel. If this is the case, it must have resulted in the phonologisation of the epenthetic [p] that had arisen in /numsis/ [nympsis] to give /nupsis/, since nasalised vowels arising from following **-ns-* would not be followed by [p]. The more frequent spellings with <μ> would then be attempts to render the nasalisation of the vowel, and the choice of <μ> over <v> would presumably be due to the labiality of the following /p/. Some slight support for this idea comes from $\nu\iota\upsilon\{\pi\}\psi\eta\delta[1\varsigma]$ (Potentia 26/Lu 20), where the use of <v> may have been a strategy to represent the nasality of the vowel, without the labiality implied by using <μ>. But the reading and interpretation of this form is not really certain enough for this to be much use as evidence. If the loss of **-m-* was not restricted to the south, the spelling of **[n]iumsis**, **niumsieis** (Nola 3/Cm 6), **niumsis** (Cumae 8.2/Cm 14) must reflect a traditional spelling in which loss of

³⁶ Mancini (2014: 51–2) treats loss of **-n-* in this environment as a sociolinguistic variable.

*-m- had not occurred. If the name was in fact /nũpsis/ it is hard to see why the spelling with <m> would be used: either the now-phonemic /p/ would be written (^xniupsis), or <n> would be used to mark the nasalisation (^xniunsis). The retention of the traditional spelling is not impossible; Cumae 8/Cm 14 is written in the unreformed alphabet, and therefore dates to before 300 BC,³⁷ while, although Nola 3/Cm 6 is from c. 150–90 BC according to Crawford *et al.* (2011), it retains another archaic name, in the genitive singular **perkedne[ís]** (Meiser 1993). However, since in the Oscan and Greek alphabets there are seven examples of the <m> or <μ> being written, against the evidence of a single inscription, it is as well to be cautious about the deductions we can draw from the spelling of νοψιϛ (× 2) and νοψ(ι)α(ν) in Laos 2/Lu 46.

Final -τ for -δ

There is a handful of cases in the Greek alphabet of final *-d being spelt <τ> (Table 44).³⁸ This agrees with the evidence of the Tabula Bantina (Bantia 1/Lu 1) in the Latin alphabet, where we find <τ> for *-d in *dat* ‘concerning’ (l.6, 8, 9, 10) < *dād, *pocapit* ‘whatever’ (l.8; cf. **púkkapíd** Abella 1 B.26/Cm 1), *tadait* ‘it may think’ (l.10) < *-ē-d.³⁹ The relative frequency of this phenomenon rules out its being a mistake, as supposed by Buck (1928: 80). It is identified by Rix (1996: 249) as a characteristic of the Oscan spoken in Lucania and Bruttium, and this seems likely to be correct: the complete

³⁷ Crawford *et al.* (2011) wrongly date this inscription to 200–150, on the basis of its similarity to Capua 34/Cp 37, on whose dating see Murano (2013: 37), Zair (2014b: 120).

³⁸ Note that Crawford *et al.*’s (2011: 1643) statement that ‘no further evidence has come to light [since Rix (1996)] in respect of ... the oscillation between final -d and final -t in Lucania’ is not correct, πισπιτ in Petelia 2 having been published subsequently (in Lazzarini 2004).

³⁹ The usual spelling is <d>, in *tanginud* (l.3, 7), *deiuatud* (l.5), *amnud* (l.6 × 2), *hipid* (l.8, 14, 17), *castrid* (l.8), *factud* (l.9), *pod* (l.10 × 2, 23, 32), *jefacid* (l.10), *egmad* (l.10), *deiuaid* (l.11), *dolud* (l.11, 20), *malud* (l.11, 20, Adamesteanu fragment 3), *contrud* (l.11, 17, 25), *estud* (l.12, 23, 26, 30, 38), *licitud* (l.13, 18 × 2, 27, 36, Adamesteanu fragment 5), *meddixud* (l.13, 21), *toutad* (l.14, 21), *preiatud* (l.15, 16), *actud* (l.15), *zicuhud* (l.16), *poizad* (l.19), *ligud* (l.19, 24, Adamesteanu fragment 7), *praesentid* (l. 21), *amiricatud* (l.22), *a<τ>trud* (l.24), *medicatud* (l.24), *pruhipid* (l.25), *[fi]id* (l.28), *fiud* (l.28, 29), *amprufid* (l.30), *[p]ocapid* (l.31), *[c]o<n>[tr]ud* (l.33), *<h>ipid* (l.37), *[dol]ud* (Adamesteanu fragment 1.3), *spentud* (Adamesteanu fragment 1.9).

Consonants

Table 44: *Final *-t and *-d*

Inscription	Date	Final <i>*-t</i>	Final <i>*-d</i>	
			<δ>	<τ>
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 3/Lu 18	c. 375–350	αναφακετ		
Cosilinum 1/Lu 3	c. 300†		τανγιν]ο<δ>	
Paestum 1/Lu 14	c. 300		αψ[α]φεδ	
Petelia 2	c. 300			πισπιτ
Anxia 1/Lu 39	c. 300–250	λεικειτ		πωτ εσοτ
Buxentum 1/Lu 62	c. 300–200	ου]στ αυτ (× 5) <κ>λοπουστ φουρουστ <h>ερεστ]ουστ φουστ	<h>ιπειδ ουπιδ ποκ]καπιδ (× 2) εστουδ]ουδ ακτουδ hαφειτουδ τ{αν}αγγινουδ ιουφετουδ τουτ]εικουδ]τουδ	
Potentia 40/Lu 13	250–200	αφακειτ	μετσεδ πεheδ πλαμετοδ τανγινοδ αφααματεδ τανγινοδ	
Potentia 9/Lu 6	200–175			
Atina Lucana 1/ Lu 2	c. 150			
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†	κωσ(τ)ιτ	πρωφατεδ	(τ)ανγινοτ αφαματετ

consistency of the spelling of **-d* with <δ> in the Oscan of Campania and Samnium suggests that it had not taken place there. If there had been a complete falling together among all speakers of final /t/ and /d/, we might expect more instances of <τ>, and perhaps also some cases of hypercorrect <δ> for **-t*. Either only some speakers had merged final **-t* and **-d* as /t/

Conclusion

(in which case $\pi\rho\omega\phi\alpha\tau\epsilon\delta$ in Potentia 1/Lu 5 would represent a ‘correct’ – i.e. etymological – spelling of $*-d$, while $(\tau)\alpha\nu\gamma\iota\nu\omicron\tau$ and $\alpha\phi\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau$ were ‘incorrect’ in representing the actual pronunciation [t]), or $*-t$ and $*-d$ were still separate, but $*-d$ had developed in some way which led to its periodic spelling with $\langle\tau\rangle$. This is the view of Rix, who observes: ‘ovviamente una $-d$ finale ha perso la sua sonorità; è diventata una lenis sorda’ (Rix 1996: 249).

The following forms are uncertain, and therefore not included in Table 44:

$\delta\epsilon\delta\epsilon\tau$ (Lucania 1/Lu 19). This could be a perfect $/d\epsilon d\epsilon d/$ or a present $/ded\epsilon t/$.

$\text{I}\tau$ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). We cannot tell whether this represents $/t/$ or $/d/$.

$\phi\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\epsilon\delta$ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). It is not clear what verbal form this is, and whether it ends in $/t/$ or $/d/$.

$\lambda\iota\omicron\{\kappa\alpha\}\kappa\epsilon\iota\tau$ (Anxia 1/Lu 39). It is not clear what verbal form this is, and whether it ends in $/t/$ or $/d/$.

Conclusion

Examination of the spelling of consonants and consonant clusters has provided evidence of several different sorts. The letter shapes used to spell $\langle h \rangle$ and $\langle f \rangle$ have been shown to be of less value for dating inscriptions than has usually been claimed, although H for $\langle h \rangle$ does seem to be restricted to the fourth and early third centuries BC. Evidence from the Oscan and Latin alphabets for the reflexes of sequences like $*-ns-$ and $*-C\tilde{i}-$ has been added to by evidence from the Greek alphabet, while some plausibly dialectal features have been identified ($\langle\tau\rangle$ for final $/d/$, perhaps $*d\tilde{i}- > /z/$).

INFLUENCE FROM THE OSCAN ALPHABET

Introduction

Although in the main the Greek alphabet was used to write Oscan in Lucania, Bruttium and Messina, while the Oscan alphabet was used in Campania and Samnium, the orthographic dividing line between the areas is not clear. There are occasional instances of the Oscan alphabet being used in Lucania (Velia 1/tLu 15, Heraclea 1), and rather more of the Greek alphabet being used in Campania (Cumae 17, Cumae 22, Cumae 23, Teanum Sidicinum 25, Surrentum 4/Cm 16, Picentia 3/Cm 31). It would, therefore, be unsurprising if some users of the Greek alphabet were also aware of the Oscan alphabet, and perhaps also knowledgeable in its use. Lejeune (1975: 242) declares that '[i]l n'y a pas d'influences graphiques décelables de l'osque central sur l'osque septentrional', but Lazzeroni (1983) argues for early contact between the two alphabets on the basis that the Greek-alphabet letter <f> was developed from the Oscan alphabet <f>,¹ and presents several orthographic features in Oscan written in the Greek alphabet which he claims to be modelled on usage in the Oscan alphabet. One can note that influence from the Oscan alphabet may also be suggested by a couple of early inscriptions in the Greek alphabet which are written right to left, as in the Oscan alphabet (Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 3/Lu 18, Lucania 1/Lu 19).

Lazzeroni posits a situation of digraphia in Lucania and Bruttium, specifically involving passive knowledge of the Oscan alphabet alongside active knowledge of the Greek alphabet: 'nelle scuole scrittorie osco-greche era conosciuta, anche se non usata, la grafia nazionale' (Lazzeroni 1983: 179). This situation is

¹ On which see Lejeune (1970: 274–5, 1990: 31); Cristofani (1996 [1998]: 275–6); Crawford *et al.* (2011: 55); *pace* Del Tutto Palma (1989: 108–11); the various hypotheses on the origin and development of <f> are discussed by McDonald (2015: 66–71).

symptomatic of the cultural influence of Campania and Samnium (the ‘civiltà egemone della Campania e del Sannio’; Lazzeroni 1983: 180) on the Oscan areas further south; although it is rarely used in Lucania or Bruttium, Lazzeroni seems to see the Oscan alphabet as having higher prestige than the Greek alphabet in this area.² Poccetti (1988: 141–70) follows the same lines as Lazzeroni, but tends to observe a difference between Lucania and Bruttium in the reception of Oscan-alphabet orthographic features, which, according to him, are mainly restricted to Lucania.

In this chapter, the evidence proposed by Lazzeroni and Poccetti will be examined to see if it does indeed confirm their pictures of the influence of the Oscan alphabet on the writing of Oscan in the Greek alphabet. It will be seen that, although there is indeed some evidence for Oscan-alphabet influence, in Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily, this is less pervasive than these authors suggest; furthermore, there is no clear difference between Lucania and Bruttium in this regard. We shall begin by focussing specifically on the inscriptions from Messina. Up to now I have not treated the evidence from these inscriptions separately from those of Lucania and Bruttium, in this regard following the approach of Lejeune (1970) and Lazzeroni (1983) (Poccetti 1988: 141–70 treats the inscriptions from Messina as being similar to those of Lucania). However, there is good historical evidence to think that the Oscan-speakers in Messina may have had greater knowledge of the Oscan alphabet than those in Lucania and Bruttium.

The Messina inscriptions

Seven Oscan inscriptions (Messana 1–2, 4–8/Me 1–5, tMe 1–3, nMe 1a-b) in the Greek alphabet are attested from Messana

² It should be noted that one of Lazzeroni’s pieces of evidence for the influence of the Oscan alphabet on Oscan written in the Greek alphabet is based on Lejeune’s picture of a system of vowel representation which underwent a change around 300 BC. According to Lazzeroni, this change is modelled on the adoption of the signs <ϕ> and <ϗ> for /e/ and /o/ respectively in the Oscan alphabet. However, since there was no change – and indeed no such system – as envisaged by Lejeune (see Chapter 2), it can no longer be taken into account.

(modern Messina).³ We are lucky enough to have some historical information about Oscan speakers at Messana, although this information is by no means complete or consistent. The city was taken over by a group of mercenaries called the Mamertini early in the third century BC; the sources differ on whether these were Campanians or Samnites (Crawford 2007; Crawford *et al.* 2011: 58). In either case, the group would have come from an area where the Oscan, rather than the Greek, alphabet was in use. A slightly more complex situation is suggested by Festus (p. 150.13–36 in Lindsay’s 1913 edition), who claims that the Mamertines originally left Samnium and moved to Tauricana, presumably connected with the Tauriani of Bruttium (Crawford 2007: 277; Crawford *et al.* 2011: 58, 1505–10). If Festus’ account is correct, and depending on the length of time spent at Tauricana, it is possible that the Mamertines adopted the Greek alphabet there rather than in Messina. However, continuing knowledge of the Oscan alphabet on Sicily for a while at least is suggested by the use of <d> on coinage of the Mamertines from 280–278 BC (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1511, and Särstrom 1940: 70–73, plate XIV.105–110: Series V, group C).

Given the apparent Samnite or Campanian origin of the Mamertines, and the – admittedly meagre – evidence for their use of the Oscan alphabet, it is interesting to consider whether their use of the Greek alphabet differs in any way from that of the inscriptions from Lucania and Bruttium. In most regards, as far as we can tell, the orthography is similar, but there are some differences. One of these is the spelling of *-u- after a dental. It will be recalled that there are ten inscriptions from the mainland which include at least one example of this sound, and it is found spelt <υ>, <ο> and <ου> (pp. 74–9). A common source for this sound is names including the element *num-: νοψιν (× 2), νοψ(ι)α(ν) (Laos 2/Lu 46), νομφις (Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47), νυμφδοι (× 2), νυ[μψδαναι] (Potentia 20/Lu 28), νυμφιμ (Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43). However, in Messana 4/Me 1 & 3 and Messana 5/Me 2, this sound is spelt in yet another way: we find instead <ιυ> in the name

³ On the differences in reading and treatment between Messana 4 and 5 and Me 1 & 3 and Me 2 respectively, see Crawford (2006), Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1517–18).

νιυμσδιης < **numVsVd̥iejs*. Such a spelling is clearly anomalous from the point of view of Greek-alphabet orthography elsewhere. However, it is strikingly similar to the spelling of *-u- after a dental in the Oscan alphabet, where we almost always find the spelling <iu>, and which is particularly well attested in names beginning with the element **num*:- [n]iūmsis, niūmsieis (Nola 3/Cm 6), niūmsis (Cumae 8.2/Cm14), [n]iū(mseis) (Cumae 4/Cm 9)⁴ < **numVsio-*, once abbreviated to niu (Abellinum 9) and very frequently to ni,⁵ niūmediis (Bouianum 116/Sa 27). Given the uniqueness of the spelling with <iu> for this sound in the Greek alphabet, it seems plausible to attribute its use to the influence of the conventions used in the Oscan alphabet, especially since we have evidence that the people writing these inscriptions may have had direct knowledge of the Oscan alphabet. Another striking feature of the name νιυμσδιης is the absence of any writing of epenthetic [p] in the sequence /ms/; at least in names based on the element **num*-, spelling of the [p], by means of <ψ>, is consistent in the other inscriptions in the Greek alphabet.⁶ Once again, as shown by [n]iūmsis, niūmsieis (Nola 3/Cm 6), niūmsis (Cumae 8.2/Cm14), the absence of writing of this [p] is characteristic of the conventions of the Oscan alphabet.

There are two other features of the inscriptions which seem ultimately to go back to Oscan-alphabet spelling norms. The first is the spelling of /a:/ with <αα> in the name πααπ[-?] (Messana 8/tMe 2). The second is the use of <πσ> for /ps/ in ουπσενς (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3) and of <κσ> for /ks/ in [μ]αμερεκς (Messana 6/Me 4), which is reminiscent of the spelling of these sequences as <ps> and <ks> in the Oscan alphabet versus the use of <ψ> and <ξ>

⁴ The use of <ú> in [n]iū(mseis), if the word is correctly read and restored, is a mistake for <u>.

⁵ Bouianum 3/tSa 1, Bouianum 14/tSa 11, Bouianum 107/Sa 33, Capua 7/Cp 16, Capua 14/Cp 26, Italia 1.410, Pompeii 11/Po 7, Pompeii 12/Po 2, Pompeii 24/Po 51, Pompeii 30/Po 45, Pompeii 34/Po 40, Pompeii 53/Po 47, perhaps Pompeii 62/Po 61, Pompeii 63/Po 59, Pompeii 88, Pompeii 101/tPo7, 8, 9, Pompeii 117/tPo 10, 11, Pompeii 130/tPo 23, 6, Stabiae 5, Teanum Sidicinum 21/Si 12, Teanum Sidicinum 22/Si 11, ni (Teruentum 36/Sa 2), ni (Larinum 2/Fr 3).

⁶ A possible exception to the spelling of [p] in another word is καμψανας (Metapontum 1/Lu 37). However, the reading of the second <μ> is not very certain, and it has previously been read differently (as καμπσανας by Rix 2002: 129; see the discussion at Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1451).

in nearly all the inscriptions from Lucania and Bruttium. However, in both cases there are very occasional uses of these spelling conventions also in the inscriptions from Lucania and Bruttium (for long vowels see pp. 156–9, for spelling of /ps/ and /ks/ see pp. 141–4), where they may be due to more diffuse influence of the Oscan alphabet. Consequently, we cannot say for certain that these Oscan-alphabet features are specifically due to the Campanian or Samnite origins of the Mamertini. Nonetheless, the concentration in this small number of inscriptions of several otherwise unknown or unusual features borrowed from the orthography of the Oscan alphabet is extremely striking. This suggests that the Mamertini, although having adopted the Greek alphabet, were still aware of the Oscan alphabet.

It may be noteworthy that all but one of the features in these inscriptions which are reminiscent of Oscan-alphabet practice occur in personal names. This could be a coincidence, but if not, it is not surprising. Personal names have been identified as a particular locus for code-switching as a marker of identity: ‘the form of the name, whether graphically or morphologically, expresses an aspect of the referent’s identity’ (Adams 2003: 371). In some of the cases discussed by Adams (2003: 369–76), this code-switching is highlighted by changes between scripts (e.g. out of the Latin alphabet into the Greek alphabet). In all the cases presented by Adams of script-switching we are presumably to assume that code-switching is also intended, even where the morphology of the words is identical or very similar in both languages (e.g. in the case of *Ilara* Εἰλαρα discussed by Adams 2003: 370). In the case of the inscriptions from Messina there can be no question of code-switching, since only one language is involved; and, since the Greek alphabet is used throughout, we cannot talk of script-switching. But something similar may be involved; in the case of νιυμσδιης, the spelling may be meant to represent a specific Campanian or Samnite dialect (if the Oscan- and Greek-alphabet spellings of **niumsis**/νομψις actually reflect a dialectal difference between [njumsis] and [nympsis] respectively; on the separate developments of *-u- after a dental in different parts of the Oscan-speaking area see pp. 74–9 and Zair 2014b). Or, as would be the case with πααπ[-?·-], a spelling reminiscent of the

Oscan alphabet may have been used to emphasise a Campanian or Samnite identity despite the adoption of the Greek alphabet. The particular rôle played by names in this process may be underlined by the use of <ξ> in the non-onomastic μεδδειξ (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3) against <κσ> in the name μαμερεκς (although of course we do also find <πσ> in the non-nominal ουπσενς).

Although ‘Campanian/Samnite’ spelling seems a plausible explanation for the features of νιυμσδιης, πααπ[-?·] and [μ]αμερεκς which are unusual from the point of view of the Greek-alphabet spellings found elsewhere, it must be observed that Oscan-alphabet-style orthography is not found in all the names in the inscriptions. Thus πομπτιες (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3), with writing of epenthetic [p] with <π>, does not match with the examples of this gentilicium or its associated praenomen in the Oscan alphabet, which never have <p>: **púmt(iis)** (Bouianum 14/tSa 11, Bouianum 15/tSa 9), **[p]úmtéis** (Atina 1 A/Sa 14), nor with the absence of written [p] in νιυμσδιης. Instead it is reminiscent of the writing of [p] in νομψις (Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47) etc. from Lucania and Bruttium. This may suggest a greater desire on the part of νιυμσδις*, πααπις* and μαμερεκς* to assert a Samnite/Campanian identity than on the part of πομπτιες.

The use of <πσ> for /ps/ and <κσ> for /ks/

We have already discussed the use of <πσ> and <κσ> rather than <ψ> and <ξ> for /ps/ and /ks/ respectively in the inscriptions from Messina (ουπσενς Messana 4/Me 1 & 3, [μ]αμερεκς Messana 6/Me 4). McDonald (2015: 82–5, 90–92) collects the evidence for the spellings of /ps/ and /ks/, along with the use of ‘unnecessary’ Greek letters to write Oscan. She argues that the use or otherwise of letters like <ψ> and <ξ> may have been more common in curse tablets and in names of Greek or pseudo-Greek origin. I do not wish to discuss this question here, although the implication of my discussion in the preceding section is that it may be that, at least among one group of Oscan-writers, absence of <ψ> and <ξ> is the marked case, possibly emphasising a non-Greek identity, rather

than the other way round. Instead I wish to address Poccetti's (1988: 156–7) treatment of these sequences.

According to Poccetti, the spellings <πσ> and <κσ> are inspired by the Oscan alphabet, where <ps> and <ks> are the regular way of spelling these sequences. This is probably correct: apart from in alphabets which lacked <φ>, the spelling of /ps/ as <πσ> is very rare in Greek inscriptions, with <φσ> or <ψ> being used instead. Of the few cases, most are early (Clackson 2002: 23). In Attica, we find an early-fifth-century example of the parallel <κσ> for <χσ> in νυκς 'night' (Haspels 1936: 94–130). In the East Ionic alphabet officially adopted in Athens in 403/402 BC, and subsequently over the whole Greek-speaking area, we find a third-century example of <πσ> for <ψ>, and a couple of second-century examples of <κσ> for <ξ> (Mayser and Schmoll 1970: 184, 185). Just before this period comes an interesting example from Italy, Αὐτοπισία, which is found on a red-figure hydria attributed to the Pisticci painter. Although the vase itself was found in Nola, the workshop of the Pisticci painter was in Lucania (perhaps near Metapontum), and it can be dated to 440–430 BC (Trendall 1967: 8–25; it is no. 6 on p. 15),⁷ and consequently provides some evidence for /ps/ being spelt <πσ> in Southern Italy shortly before our earliest evidence for Oscan.⁸ One wonders whether this might be part of a spelling tradition also used when writing Greek in the south of Italy. But there is no other evidence in any other Greek inscriptions from the area, and in general <πσ> and <κσ> for <ψ> and <ξ> in Greek inscriptions seems to have been highly unusual. So Oscan-alphabet influence on Oscan in the Greek alphabet still seems more likely.⁹

⁷ The vase is wrongly attributed by Kretschmer (1894: 179): the vase is not British Museum F338 (Walters 1896: 170–71), but rather E223 (Smith 1896: 173). A picture of the vase, which unfortunately does not show the inscription clearly, can be found in Walters (1931: III.1C, plate 90.6) and online (and in colour) at www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=129420&objectId=463538&partId=1 (last accessed 21 October 2014).

⁸ The other instances of <πσ> for /ps/ on Attic vases quoted by Kretschmer (1894: 179–80) are all doubtful (Threatte 1980: 20).

⁹ It is unlikely that the spelling <πσ> in Αὐτοπισία is itself due to knowledge of the Oscan alphabet by the vase-painter, since the date of the inscription is probably prior to the invention of the Oscan alphabet.

Table 45: /ps/ and /ks/

Inscription	Date	<ψ> and <ξ>	<πσ> and <κσ>
Laos 2/Lu 46	c. 330–320	νοψιν (× 3) οψιον (× 2) νοψ(ι)α(ν)	
Buxentum 3/Lu 45	400–300	μαμερεξ	
Thurii Copia 1/ Lu 47	350–300	νομψις	
Cosilinum 1/Lu 3	c. 300†		εκς
Petelia 2	c. 300	αραξ	
Potentia 20/Lu 28	325–275†	νυμψδοι νυμψδοι	
Heraclea 2/Lu 61	Before c. 275	οψ(ις)	
Potentia 26/Lu 20	300–200	[νιυ]γ{π}ψηδ[ις	[νιυ]γ{π}ψηδ[ις
Potentia 21/Lu 29	250–200	[νυ]μψδοι]υξ	
Teuranus Ager 1/ Lu 43	Presumably before c. 200	νυμψιμ	
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†		<ο>πσανω

However, Poccetti's further statement that '[n]el sistema grafico dell'osco istituito in Lucania e a Messina questi due segni non sono stati adottati' (Poccetti 1988: 156) is clearly not correct, since we find both <ψ> and <ξ> in Lucania, and <ξ> in Messina, as shown in Table 45.¹⁰ [νιυ]γ{π}ψηδ[ις (Potentia 26/Lu 20) is included twice because it seems to be evidence for both <πσ> and <ψ>, the writer apparently starting to write <πσ>, and then changing his mind about which to use.¹¹ It is true that only <ψ> and <ξ> are found in Bruttium, and it certainly seems plausible that influence from the Oscan alphabet should be more frequent nearer Samnium and Campania. But, given the small numbers of

¹⁰ The Lucanian inscriptions are Buxentum 3/Lu 45, Potentia 20/Lu 28, Heraclea 2/Lu 61, Potentia 21/Lu 29. On the question of whether Laos 2/Lu 46 should count as Lucanian, see p. 153.

¹¹ οψι (Laos 1) is omitted because this may be meant to be a Greek word (i.e. οψι(ος), not οψι(ς)), and so is καμψανας (Metapontum 1/Lu 37), which was read as καμπσανας by Rix (2002), since the presence of a <π> here is clearly uncertain.

examples involved, the restriction of <πσ> and <κσ> to Lucania may just be coincidence.

Diphthongs ending in <ϕ>

Lazzeroni (1983: 179) argues that the use of <ϕ> as the second element of diphthongs is due to influence from the Oscan alphabet, where <v> rather than <u> was used in this way, as opposed to standard Greek orthography, which used <υ>. Lazzeroni is followed by Poccetti (1988: 153), who claims that there is a difference between the use of <ϕ> (as well as <υ>) in Lucania and the use of only <υ> in Bruttium. Lazzeroni seems to be referring only to the use of <ϕ> in tautosyllabic diphthongs, whereas Poccetti implies that <ϕ> was also unknown as the second member of heterosyllabic /ow/ sequences in Bruttium. Lazzeroni is right to identify this as a striking divergence from normal Greek practice,¹² but it is not clear that it must be due to an Oscan-alphabet model. Lazzeroni supports this claim by observing that – at the time he was writing – <υ> was found used as the second element of the /au/ diphthong three times, whereas it was only used once as the second element of the /ou/ diphthong. He argues that this matches the distribution in the Oscan alphabet, where we occasionally find <au> as well as <av>, but never <úu> as well as <úv>. Apart from the fact that there is, methodologically, quite an important difference between the single use of <ou> in the Greek alphabet, and the non-use of <úv> in the Oscan alphabet, the evidence now available does not strongly support this argument. Although <υ> is still slightly more commonly used in /au/ diphthongs (13/17 instances, 5/7 inscriptions in Table 46, with one inscription using both <ϕ> and <υ>) than in /ou/ diphthongs (3/10 instances, 3/10 inscriptions), the relative frequency of <ou> and <ωυ> stands in clear contrast to the complete absence of <úv> in the Oscan alphabet. In fact, the use of <ϕ> need not necessarily be

¹² As Lazzeroni notes, in some early Greek dialectal inscriptions <ϕ> is used in this way, but there is no evidence for this practice still being in existence in the fourth century BC.

Diphthongs ending in <f>

Table 46: *Spelling of tautosyllabic diphthongs ending in /u/*

Inscription	Date	<υ>	<f>
Laos 3/Lu 63	c. 300		λωρκις
Petelia 2	c. 300	γναυ(ς) εμαυτο αυδα<f>ο αυδαις	καρνοτο
Vibo 2/Lu 25	c. 300†	ταυρομ	
Messana 6/Me 4	c. 275		κλαρδισ
Messana 4/Me 1 & 3	c. 250		τωρτο
Messana 5/Me 2	c. 250		τω<f>τ[ο]
Lucani 1/nLu 1	207–204	λουκανομ	
Buxentum 1/Lu 62	300–200	τουτεικαις αυτ (× 5) σερευκιδιμαμ	
Crimisa 2/Lu 24	300–200	ωυδδιης	
Potentia 40/Lu 13	250–200	γαυκιες αυτι	
Potentia 9/Lu 6	200–175		λωρκις
Potentia 10/Lu 7	200–175		λωρκις
Potentia 3/Lu 8	200–100		αρδειες
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†		λωρκ(ιης)
Potentia 23/Lu 64	125–100		λωρκτιης
Cosilinum 2/Lu 40	c. 100		σαλαρς
Tauriani 1/tLu 13	c. 100	ταυριανουμ	

explained with reference to the Oscan alphabet. In the Ionic alphabet, <ου> did not represent a diphthong but rather a long vowel /u:/, and indeed Greek did not have a diphthong /ou/. As a result, anyone trying to write Oscan /ou/ using the Greek alphabet would not have had a model in Greek orthography for doing so. The options were: either to adapt the usual Greek way of writing diphthongs ending in /u/ with <υ>, and use the spelling <ου> with a different value from in Greek; or to adopt the usual way of writing Oscan /w/ in other environments (as <f>), and use

it also to spell the glide that made up the second element of the diphthong /ou/ (to give a spelling <of>).¹³

With regard to the diphthongs /au/ and /eu/, the use of <f> is more striking, since Greek orthography did provide a model, in which these were consistently spelt <αυ> and <ευ> respectively. However, as seen above (pp. 74–9), <υ> represents [y] in Oscan, just as in Greek. Therefore, given the regular use of <f> to represent /w/ in Oscan, writers could either follow Greek orthographic norms for the writing of diphthongs, with <υ>, or choose to use <f>, as better representing the sound of the offglide of the diphthong ([u] not [y]). Given these script-internal impetuses to the adoption of <f> as the second element of a tautosyllabic diphthong, we cannot be completely sure that it is due to the influence of the Oscan alphabet. Nor is there strong evidence for a restriction of <f> as the second element of diphthongs to Lucania and Messina. Contrary to Poccetti's claims, there is now one example of <f> in a tautosyllabic diphthong from Bruttium (καφνοτο Petelia 2); furthermore, the only example of heterosyllabic /ow/ in Bruttium is spelt with <f> (διουφει Vibo 2/Lu 25). While it is true that the proportion of tautosyllabic diphthongs spelt with <υ> is higher in Bruttium (7/8) than in Lucania (10/20), we only have four inscriptions from Bruttium showing these diphthongs (Petelia 2, Vibo 2/Lu 25, Crimisa 2/Lu 24, Tauriani 1/tLu 13). So it is possible that the relative absence of diphthongs with <f> is merely chance.

With regard to other possible factors in the variation between <υ> and <f>, Table 46 shows use of both <υ> and <f> to represent the second segment of tautosyllabic diphthongs throughout the time period covered by our inscriptions, perhaps with a preference for <f> from the second century onwards. There are very few inscriptions with more than one instance of <f>; while Buxentum 1/Lu 62 is consistent in using <υ> for the second element, Petelia 2 uses both <υ> and <f>. In general, this pattern seems to have much in common with the general variation in spelling found in Chapters 2 and 3.

¹³ Of course, there was also the third possibility, of using the spelling <ωυ>, which would have the advantage of distinguishing tautosyllabic /ou/ from both /u/ and heterosyllabic /ow/. However, as we have seen in Chapter 2 in particular, avoidance of homography does not seem to have been of great interest to writers of Oscan in the Greek alphabet, and indeed this option was only used in one of our inscriptions.

Use of <h>

The use of <h> has been seen as being affected by Oscan-alphabet conventions in two ways. The first is Lazzeroni's (1983: 172–3) observation that its use as a marker of hiatus, when two vowels are next to each other, is foreign to Greek practice, but has a parallel in the Oscan alphabet. To some extent, this suggestion appears to be correct, but the situation is quite complex. The primary source of Oscan /h/ is $*-g^h-$, and this is seen word-initially in $\eta\alpha\phi\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta$ 'let him have' and presumably $\eta\iota\delta<\alpha>\varsigma$ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62), in the names $\eta\eta\iota\rho\epsilon\nu\varsigma$, $\eta\eta\iota\rho(\epsilon\nu\eta\iota\varsigma)$ (Potentia 1/Lu 5), and $\eta\epsilon\rho\iota\varsigma$ (Buxentum 3/Lu 45). Presumably this is also the (original) result elsewhere in the word (Stuart-Smith 2004: 83–4), so <h> in $\kappa\alpha\eta\alpha\varsigma$ (Anxia 1/Lu 39) 'you should take' < $*kag^h-\bar{a}-s$ is etymologically justified. The preposition $\epsilon\eta$ 'out of' (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) comes from $*e\hat{g}^h$. Word-internally, <h> also reflects $*-k-$ before $*-t-$ in $\rho\epsilon\eta\tau[\epsilon]$ 'lawfully' (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) < $*rekt\bar{e}$, which is also written with <h> in the Oscan alphabet (in this environment a phonetic realisation [x] seems possible). The etymology (and even word-division) of $\alpha\eta\pi\epsilon[\epsilon]$ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) is unclear. There is no evidence of the use of <h> as a way of marking vowel length in the Greek alphabet (where this is marked it is by double writing of the vowels; see pp. 156–9) any more than in the Oscan and Latin alphabets (unlike in the Umbrian alphabet; Meiser 1986: 92, 178, 272–4). Another source of <h> is loan-words from Greek such as $\eta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1/Lu 26), $\eta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\kappa\lambda\omega\iota$ (Potentia 23/Lu 64); if $\kappa\eta\omicron\mu\omicron\iota$ (Potentia 21/Lu 29) is borrowed from Greek, <h> is being used here to write a Greek voiceless aspirate. Since intervocalic <h> can come from $*-g^h-$, and we do not know the meaning or etymologies of $\rho\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\eta\omega\mu$ (Anxia 1/Lu 39) and $\epsilon\iota\eta\omicron\iota$ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62),¹⁴ we have no way of knowing whether <h> in these forms is etymologically justified, or is being used as a marker of hiatus.

Consequently, the only forms in which we can be sure that <h> is not etymological are $\mu\alpha\rho\alpha\eta\iota\varsigma$ (Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2) and $\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\phi\varsigma$

¹⁴ Or even if the word division is correct, in the case of $\epsilon\iota\eta\omicron\iota$.

(Potentia 24/Lu 30) ‘pious (?)’, $\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\delta$ (Potentia 40/Lu 13) ‘piously’. The name $\mu\alpha\rho\alpha\eta\iota\varsigma$ has been discussed by Poccetti (1985), Salomies (1987: 75–8) and Nishimura (2009). The following account seems to be clear: the base of the name is $*mar\tilde{a}-$, of unknown origin. This formed a praenomen $*mar\tilde{a}\tilde{\iota}\sigma$, which regularly gave **maras**, since intervocalic $*-\tilde{\iota}-$ was lost in Proto-Italic, and the final vowel was then lost by syncope (if the two vowels $*-ao-$ had not already contracted to $*-\tilde{a}-$). The genitive singular **marahēis** comes directly from $*marajēis$, also with loss of intervocalic $*-\tilde{\iota}-$. However, a new praenomen $\mu\alpha\rho\alpha\eta\iota\varsigma$ with the **-is** praenomen suffix was then created on the basis of **maras**, with a matching genitive singular: **marahieis**. From this was formed a gentilicium **marahii(s)** (gen. sg. **maraiieis**) derived from it in the normal way (cf. **statis** Bouianum 98/Sa 36, **statiis** Campania or Samnium 2/ZO 2).¹⁵ A further praenomen $\mu\alpha\rho\alpha\epsilon\iota\nu$ also existed, formed with the suffix /e/ < $*-e\tilde{\iota}o-$.¹⁶ The full collection of forms belonging to this name family can be seen in Table 47.¹⁷

As is evident from the table, the use of <h, h> at the end of the base of the name and before an ending is common (although not invariable) in this name family in the Oscan alphabet and is also attested in the Etruscan and Greek alphabets. In the Greek alphabet we find one case of a spelling with <h> and two examples in the same inscription without <h>. It seems clear that <h, h> is used to mark a hiatus between two vowels (thus Poccetti 1985: 238). Nishimura (2009) argues for a more complex situation in which <ahi> was used in the unreformed Oscan alphabet to

¹⁵ There are other examples of two praenomina side-by-side, one derived from the other with $*-\tilde{\iota}o-$. The clearest example is $*magos$ (gen. sg. **mageis** Saticula 5/Cm 23) beside **mais** (e.g. Abella 2/Cm 8) < $*magios$, but the same pattern is implied by $\kappa\lambda\omicron\rho\alpha\tau\varsigma$ (Potentia 40/Lu 13) → $*k\lambda\omicron\upsilon\alpha\tau\iota\varsigma$ → **kluvatiis** (Capua 34.9/Cp 37), $\mu\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon\chi$ (Buxentum 3/Lu 45) → $*mamerekis$ → $\mu\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon\kappa\iota\epsilon\varsigma$ (Lucania or Brettia or Sicilia 3/Lu 18), **papeis** (Cumae 8.9, 38/Cm 14) → $*papis$ → **papii(s)** (e.g. Teruentum 36/Sa 2) and $\tau\rho\epsilon\beta\alpha\varsigma$ (Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43) → $*trebatis$ → $\tau\rho\epsilon\beta\alpha\tau\iota\epsilon\varsigma$ (Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43), all of which require an unattested praenomen in **-is** from which to derive the gentilicium in **-iis**. Since **marahis** cannot come regularly from $*maraios$, it must have been formed by analogy with pairs such as these.

¹⁶ Poccetti (1985: 238); Nishimura (2009: 173–4) sees this form as part of the paradigm of $\mu\alpha\rho\alpha\eta\iota\varsigma$, but his reasoning rests on incorrect readings, and an implicit belief that <ei> could not be used for /e/ in the fourth century (on which see Chapter 2).

¹⁷ I do not include abbreviations and forms such as **marah[eis]** (Cumae 8.10/Cm 14) and **marah[ieis]** (Teruentum 20/Sa 24), in which we cannot tell whether the name is **marah[eis]** or **marah[ieis]**.

Table 47: Names derived from *marā-

	nom. sg.	other cases (gen. sg. unless otherwise specified) ^a
Praenomen 1	maras Cumae 8. 40/Cm 14 (× 2), Teruentum 20/Sa 24 mara[s Cumae 8. 20, 22/ Cm 14 μαρας Potentia 13/Lu 16, Tauriani 2 μαρας Messana 4/Me 1 & 2 μαρ[α]ς Messana 5/Me 2 μαρα(ς) Petelia 2	marahais Cumae 8.26, 36/ Cm 14, Bouianum 93 marahē[i]s Cumae 8.40/ Cm 14
Praenomen 2	marahis Cumae 8. 38/ Cm 14 μαραhis Atina Lucana 1/ Lu 2	marahieis Saticula 7/Cm 28 mara(h)i(e)is Nola 2/Cm 7
Praenomen 3		μαραειν Laos 2/Lu 46 (× 2; acc. sg.)
Gentilicium 1	marahii(s) Trebula Balliensis 1 <i>maraies</i> Italia 4/Lu 49	maraiieis Teruentum 8/ Sa 4

^a I do not think it is necessary to think that **marahais** can act as the genitive singular of both **maras** and **marahis**, as supposed by Nishimura (2009: 169–70), on the basis that **dekis rahiis marahais** (Cumae 8.36/Cm 14) must be the son of **marahis rahiis papeis** (l. 38). While it is of course possible that this is the case, it is hardly to be assumed without further evidence (for example it is possible that **dekis** and **marahis** might be cousins: in this case the nephew of **maras** would have a name very similar to that of his uncle). The attested (and expected) gen. sg. of **marahis** is marahieis.

represent disyllabic /a.i/ in /mara.is/ in order to distinguish it from the diphthong /ai/ (phonetically [aɛ]), which was spelt <ai>.¹⁸

¹⁸ The brief summary here is actually considerably simplified. For Nishimura, there is an intermediate stage in which Proto-Sabellic *-i- (in *-is from *-ios by syncope) was lowered to *-e- after a vowel; consequently, μαραhis ought to reflect /maraes/. However, analogy with normal -is praenomina such as **statis** led to the re-creation of /marais/. There is really no good evidence for this extra step. Nishimura compares the Umbrian forms **peṛaem**, **peṛae** (e.g. IT IIa 11) < *pedaim < *pedaijom, **pusnaes** (IT Ia 2) < *postnaijos. But Weiss (2010: 294–304) provides a different explanation, in which <e> in these forms represents /ε/ rather than /e/. The supposed Oscan evidence consists of μαραειν, which comes from *marā-ejo-, and the praenomen **maís** (e.g. Abella 2/Cm 8) < *majjos

Although this spelling was redundant in the other forms of the name (e.g. **maraheis**, **marahii(s)**), it spread to these too, as well as being continued for some time even after the spelling reform of 300 BC (as seen in **marah[iéis]** Teruentum 20/Sa 24, which is dated to 200–100), which made it redundant since the diphthong /ai/ was then spelt <ai>. Nishimura's proposal is doubtful on two grounds. Firstly, because it is uneconomical, with an unmotivated spread of the spelling with <h> across paradigms and into the second century BC; we further have to suppose its spread into the Etruscan and Greek alphabets. Secondly, because it does not take into account forms like **stahint**, **stahínt** (Capua 20/Cp 25) 'they stand' < *sta-ē-nti, **saka(ra)híter** (Teruentum 34.9/Sa 1) 'is to be sacrificed' < *sak(r)ā-ē-ter, in which <h> is used between /a/ and /e/ rather than between /a/ and /i/.

Consequently, Lazzeroni and Poccetti are right to see <h> as a hiatus-marker. But the situation is slightly more complex than is implied by Poccetti's comment that <h> 'ist in oskischer Schrift als normales Zeichen zur Bezeichnung des Hiatus wohlbekannt' (Poccetti 1985: 238). In the Oscan alphabet, <h> does not seem to be used between any two vowels.¹⁹ It has two very specific uses. The first is between the base of a name ending in a vowel and the ending <is> or <iis>, as in the forms of **marahis** already discussed, and also found in the gentilicia **ahiis** (Stabiae 3 Stamp/tCm 1) 'Aius', **r]ahiis** (× 2), **rahiis** (× 3), **rahiieis** (Cumae 8/Cm 14)

< *magios. But there is no need for such a rule for **maís**, which can simply reflect the usual lowering of /i/ as the second element of a diphthong, i.e. *maís > [maēs] /maís/.

¹⁹ When the first vowel is /e/, for example, we never find <h>: e.g. **pútiad**, **fatíum** (Capua 33/Cp 36), **viú** (Pompeii 13/Po 1, Pompeii 12/Po 2, Abella 1.B 30/Cm 1), **víam** (Pompeii 13/Po 1, Abella 1.B 7/Cm 1), **vía(m)** (Pompeii 13/Po 1), [v]íam (Pompeii 12/Po 2), **víai** (Abella 1.B 31/Cm 1), **viass** (Pompeii 13/Po 1), **amvianud** (Pompeii 2/Po 34, Pompeii 3/Po 35), **amviannud** (Pompeii 6/Po 38), **amvi[anud]** (Pompeii 7/Po 39), **íak** (Teruentum 8/Sa 4), **iúk** (Abella 1.B 11, 16/Cm 1), **iussu**, **íp(s)su** (Pompeii 13/Po 1), **staíet** (Abella 1.B 32/Cm 1). It seems to be clear that /e/ followed by a vowel in Oscan developed a subphonemic glide to give [ejV] or [eəV]. This is demonstrated by the spelling of this glide with <i> in inscriptions using the unreformed Oscan alphabet, such as **íiuk** (Capua 15/Cp 8; cf. **iúk**), **puttiad**, **puttians** (Capua 34/Cp 37; cf. **pútiad**, **putfians**), **ttiianeí** (Teanum Sidicinum 26/Si 5, Teanum Sidicinum 27/Si 6, Teanum Sidicinum 28/Si 20, Teanum Sidicinum 30/Si 4, Teanum Sidicinum 31/Si 22), **ttiiane(i)** (Teanum Sidicinum 29/Si 21). In the reformed alphabet, this glide is usually not written, although Teruentum 34/Sa 1 is an exception, where we find **kerríiín** (LA 2), **kerríiái** (LA 4, 6, 22, 23, 24, B 11), **kerríiáis** (LA 7), **kerríiús** (LA 9, 10), **kerríiúí** (LA 13, B 16), all of which represent a sequence /e.e/ with <íií>.

‘Raius’, and]**mahii**[s (Atina 1.B/Sa 37) ‘Maius’. This usage seems to be exactly what we find in μαράης (Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2), and the lack of <h> in μαρᾶειν (Laos 2/Lu 46; also in κοττειης Vibo 5/tLu 3, ἀφδεῖς Potentia 3/Lu 8, and τουρειῖς Vibo 7/tLu 7) matches up with instances of names in **-eio-* in the Oscan alphabet, which do not have an <h>: **pettiē**[i]s (Capua 26/Cp 29), **pettiēis** (Capua 25/Cp 30), **sepiēis** (Capua 27/Cp 28), **[ga]aviēis** (Atina 1.A/Sa 14), **pakiū** (Pompeii 91/Po 87). The second use in the Oscan alphabet is between /a/ and /e/, as in **stahint**, **stahint** and **saka(ra)hiter**. The use of <h> here is presumably to show that we do not have a diphthong [aɛ], but a sequence of two vowels /a.e/ in hiatus.²⁰ There is no evidence of <h> being used in this way in the Greek alphabet; apart from μαρᾶειν, the only possible case of an /a.e/ sequence in hiatus in the Greek alphabet is in αἰζνιω (Potentia 1/Lu 5) < **aiēsneiā* (see pp. 186–7).

There is one more instance of non-etymological <h> in the Oscan alphabet,²¹ although the reason for its use is extremely obscure. This is in **pihihiūi** (Teruentum 34.B 15/Sa 1) ‘pious’ (dat. sg.). What makes the use of <h> here particularly remarkable is that we also find unetymological <h> in this word in Umbrian (for the forms see Untermann 2000: 554), and in Volscian *pihom*

²⁰ Note that in neither of these cases is the use of <h> compulsory. For the names, compare the alternative convention that the <iis> gentilicial ending is written <iis> after a name base ending in a vowel, e.g. **hefiis** (Cumae 3/Cm 5), **hefi(s)** (Cumae 2/Cm 4, Cumae 11/Cm 20), **staiis** (Nola 4/Cm 48, Saepinum 10/Hi 7, Teruentum 16/Sa 10, Teruentum 15/Sa 11, Teruentum 17/Sa 12, Teruentum 20/Sa 24). I am grateful to Katherine McDonald for pointing this out to me, and for providing me with her collected data on Oscan names. The ending can also be written <iis>, as in gentilicia whose base ends in a consonant: **duiēis** (Saepinum 10/Hi 7). The oblique cases of the praenomen **mais** have <ii>: **maiēis** (Abella 3/Cm 3), **maiūi** (Abella 1 A.1, 3/Cm 1). This is because they represent a genuine double glide in /majjeis/, which comes from **-gi-* in **magjeis*. The spelling **[m]aiēis** (Teruentum 8/Sa 4) must be due to the influence of the **hefiis**-type spellings. For /a.e/ in hiatus, compare **sakraiṭir** (Capua 24/Cp 34) ‘there should be a consecration’ /sakra.eter/, **staiet** (Abella 1.B 32/Cm 1) ‘they stand’ /sta.ent/, **stait** (Teruentum 34.B 23/Sa 1), **staiṭ** (Aufidena 1/Sa 17) ‘stands’ /sta.et/, **kaias** (Pallanum 1/Fr 2) /ka.e.as/.

²¹ All other cases of intervocalic <h> are etymologically justified, e.g. **feihúss** (Abella 1 B.5/Cm 1), **feihúis** (Abella 1 B.19/Cm 1) ‘walls’ < **d^heig^h* (Untermann 2000: 269–70), **kahad** (× 3) (Capua 34.6.8/Cp 37) ‘may he take’ < **kag^h* (Untermann 2000: 362), or of uncertain etymology, e.g. **verehasiūi** (Teruentum 34 B.11/Sa 1), **verehasiū** (Teruentum 34 B.14/Sa 1), **verehias** (Capua 21/Cp 32) ‘pertaining to the state (?)’ (Rix 1999b, Katz 2006: 333), **velehiā**[tar] (Cumae 8.6/Cm 14) (Untermann 2000: 831), **vehiian(asúm)** (Capua 24/Cp 34), <v>**ehiianasúm** (Capua 24/Cp 33), **vehiia(nas)** (Capua 18/Cp 18) (Untermann 2000: 829).

(Velitrae 1/VM 2),²² as has been frequently observed (Buck 1928: 54). As noted in [fn. 19](#), <h, h> is not usually found as a marker of hiatus after /e/ or /i/ in the Oscan alphabet, nor in Umbrian. Why, therefore, should we find <h, h> so often in the ‘pious’ words, across several different languages? Bader (1978: 152) posits two preforms, one *pī-o- and one *pijō-, and argues that <h> is used to mark the morpheme boundary and hence distinguish the two words.²³ But this does not seem a strong argument, for two reasons: firstly, in no alphabet need /pi:/ and /pe/ be spelt the same (e.g. in the reformed Oscan alphabet these would be distinguished as <pīf> and <pí> respectively); secondly, it seems implausible that a speaker of the languages would be able to distinguish two different adjectival suffixes in the two words, which would be phonetically [pi:jo] and [pejo] respectively. Del Tutto Palma (1996: 415–16) also considers that the use of <h, h> in these forms must have some morphological import, and suggests that this is an orthographic norm shared between writers of Umbrian, Volscian and Oscan. On the other hand, it is possible that separate factors in the different languages could have been responsible for the shared parallel in the spellings, even if we do not properly understand what these factors were (note that the use of <h> in **piīhiúf** is somewhat different from the Volscian and Umbrian forms, since it is followed by <i>, which is presumably meant to represent /j/).

Whatever the reason for the widespread use of <h, h> in this etymon, the forms πεηετεψ (Potentia 24/Lu 30) and πεηεδ (Potentia 40/Lu 13), which probably represent /pe:ε/ and /pe:e:/, could be argued to have <h> under the influence of the Oscan-alphabet spelling, although this differs from them in apparently being a different form of the lexeme with /i:/ in the first syllable, as well as using <i> to mark a glide after the <h>. On the other hand, it is possible to come up with a motivation for the use of <h> in the Greek alphabet which would be unrelated to the use of <h> in **piīhiúf**. The use of <h> could be a hiatus-marker, used to prevent a

²² But not in Paelignian *peo[i]s* (Sulmo 13/Pg 11) or Marrucian *peoi* or *pioi* (Teate Marrucinorum 2.10/MV 1).

²³ In fact, as discussed in the glossary entry s.v. πεηεδ in [Chapter 6](#), her reconstructions ought to be the other way round: *pih₂-o- > *pi(i)o-, *pih₂-iō- > *piūo-.

reading of <π_εε_ετ_ες> and <π_εε_δ> as /pe:tefs/ and /pe:d/ respectively. If this is correct, it provides some further indirect evidence for the otherwise scantily attested use of double writing of long vowels in the Greek alphabet (see pp. 156–9). If this is indeed the reason for the use of <h>, it would clearly not be necessary when the following vowel was not identical to the first. This is what we find in π₁ω (Cosilinum 2/Lu 40) ‘auspicious’, which belongs to the same root and is phonologically probably /peo/ so there is no need to use <h>. There is no other good evidence for this usage of <h> in the Greek alphabet, since in κ_αη_ας (Anxia 1/Lu 39), <h> is etymologically justified. If use as a hiatus-marker between vowels spelt identically is the reason for the existence of <h> in π_εη_ετ_ες and π_εη_εδ, this development may be independent of Oscan-alphabet conventions, since <h> is not, as far as we can tell, used in this way (although the only evidence seems to be **kerrīin**, Teruentum 34.B 2/Sa 1).

The other way in which use of <h> has been seen to be affected by knowledge of the Oscan alphabet is Poccetti’s (1988: 154–5) observation that inscriptions from Bruttium are characterised by an absence of the letter <h>, which he attributes to the influence of Hellenistic orthographic norms, while the Lucanian usage of <h> is due to the example of the Oscan alphabet, perhaps combined with the influence of the Greek epigraphy of Apulia and Tarantum, which used <h> for the *spiritus asper*. The evidence for <h> and its absence where etymologically expected is collected in Table 48. It is true that in all four of our examples of word-initial /h/ from Bruttium, we find that the expected <h> is lacking (in Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47, Crimisa 3/Lu 44, Crimisa 2/Lu 24 and Vibo 8/tLu 6), and in general /h/ is written in our inscriptions from Lucania. We do find that <h> is lacking in the name <h>ο_ρτο_ρι_ες in Laos 3/Lu 63 from Lucania;²⁴ Poccetti considers Laos part of the Brettian zone, though it is usually considered part of Lucania, having been conquered by the Lucani in the fifth century (see Poccetti in Pocetti 1993b: 179–80). At any rate, it is in the very south of Lucania, so could be reflecting the same orthographic norms as

²⁴ I do not include μα_ρα_ειν (× 2) in Laos 2/Lu 46 as an example of ‘missing’ <h>; although the related name μα_ρα_θις in Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2 does have <h>, this is not etymological, as discussed already.

Influence from the Oscan alphabet

Table 48: Words in which <h> is present or expected

Inscription	Date	<h> present	<h> missing
Buxentum 3/Lu 45	400–300	ἡερῖς	
Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47	350–300		ελ[Ϝ]ομ
Laos 3/Lu 63	c. 300		ορτοριες
Potentia 24/Lu 30	325–275	πεηετεις	
Anxia 1/Lu 39	300–250	φολλοηωμ καχας	
Crimisa 3/Lu 44	300–250		<h>οριομ
Buxentum 1/Lu 62	300–200	αηπε[ἡαφειτουδ ἡιδ<α>ς εἡ ειηειοι ρεητ[ε	<h>ιπειδ <h>ερεστ
Crimisa 2/Lu 24	300–200		(h)εριηῖς
Potentia 21/Lu 29	250–200	κηομοι	
Potentia 40/Lu 13	250–200	πεηεδ	
Vibo 8/tLu 6	Presumably before c. 200		<h>ορτιηῖς
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1/Lu 26	After c. 200†	ἡερεκλεις	
Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2	c. 150	μαραῖης	
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†	ἡηιρενς ἡηιρ(ενηῖς)	
Potentia 23/Lu 64	125–100	ἡερεκλωι	

Bruttium. However, we do also find at least one, if not two examples of missing <h> in Buxentum 1/Lu 62 (<h>ιπειδ, perhaps <h>ερεστ), from the more northerly Roccagloriosa. In the case of Buxentum 1/Lu 62, given the fact that /h/ is normally written, the lack of <h> is presumably a mistake rather than anything to do with an orthographic norm which did not allow the writing of /h/.

Poccetti proposes that the general presence of <h> in northern Lucania is due to Oscan-alphabet influence, while its absence further south reflects koine Greek norms, where <h> is not normally marked at the beginning of Italic names, either inscriptionally or in literary sources. This could be correct, although more discussion is needed. Poccetti's support for his claim relies solely on Domingo's (1979: 78) evidence from second- and first-century official Roman documents from the Greek East, which are written in koine and use the Ionic alphabet without a letter for <h>. In the south of Italy in the period from around 400 BC, the phoneme /h/ was present in the Doric Greek dialects that were most commonly spoken in the south, probably also in the Hellenistic period, and so was the letter <h>. So, there is no reason to expect that Italic names could not also be spelt with <h> in this area. However, use of <h> is by no means uniform in (Doric) Greek inscriptions from the south, and indeed is lacking in the majority of instances. So it is still possible that its absence in Oscan inscriptions from Bruttium and Laos reflects the more common spelling conventions in Greek of these areas, while its use elsewhere in Lucania was reinforced by knowledge of the Oscan alphabet.

But Poccetti's suggestion, while plausible, only represents one possibility; an equally plausible explanation would be a dialectal difference, whereby /h/ had been lost in Bruttium plus Laos and not the rest of Lucania. But in fact its occasional omission in the inscription from Roccagloriosa suggests that loss of /h/ may have occurred more widely also in Oscan in Lucania, and that it is merely coincidence that four (or five, including that from Laos) of our examples come from Bruttium. If absence of /h/ was a feature of only lower-register speech, or if the correct use of <h> despite widespread loss (perhaps especially at the beginning of a word) was a characteristic of better-educated speakers, it may not be a coincidence that the majority of our inscriptions from Laos and Bruttium with missing <h> come from curse tablets (Laos 2/Lu 46, Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47, Laos 3/Lu 63, Crimisa 3/Lu 44). These may more closely approximate everyday speech than other types of epigraphy or be written by less well-educated writers. Absence of <h> is, however, also found in Crimisa 2/Lu 24, which is a dedicatory or official inscription on stone, Vibo 8/tLu 6, a tile

stamp, and on two occasions, in Buxentum 1/Lu 62, a bronze law tablet. None of the inscriptions which retain <h> are curse tablets except Buxentum 3/Lu 45. In my view, the evidence is not numerous enough for us to be able to evaluate these possibilities.

In conclusion, aspects of the use of <h> do seem to have been influenced by Oscan-alphabet conventions. *Contra* Poccetti, its presence in inscriptions in Lucania is probably not due specifically to Oscan-alphabet influence, since the Greek alphabet that the Oscans borrowed had <h>, and many Greek-speakers in the south probably spoke dialects that were non-psilotic. Its absence can equally well be explained as a (perhaps dialectal or socio-lectal) loss of /h/, rather than being the result of Greek orthographic norms. However, as noted by Lazzeroni, its use as a hiatus-marker (specifically in names in *-*ios* and *-*ijos* whose base ends in a vowel, like $\mu\rho\alpha\eta\iota\varsigma$) is likely to be modelled on Oscan-alphabet conventions (and, as in the Oscan alphabet, it was not compulsory, as shown by $\alpha\phi\delta\alpha\iota\varsigma$ in Petelia 2). Ultimately the <h> in the forms $\pi\epsilon\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ and $\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\delta$ is also based on Oscan-alphabet practice, although it is not clear whether it is lexically-specific (as in **pihiúí**), or whether it is a Greek-alphabet-only extension of the restricted Oscan-alphabet use of <h> as a hiatus marker.

Double writing of long vowels

A very small number of inscriptions show the use of double letters to represent long vowels (Table 49). In the table, I have underlined the long vowels which are written with only a single letter.

The use of double letters to represent long vowels is not a characteristic of Greek orthography used to write Greek. Although it is possible that its very occasional usage in the Greek alphabet used to write Oscan could be an independent experiment, it seems more likely that it is due to the influence of an alphabet which did use such a convention. Lazzeroni (1983: 177–8, 180) and Poccetti (in Nava and Poccetti 2001: 105–6) attribute it to influence from the Oscan alphabet, in which double letters could be – but need not be – used to mark vowel length (Lejeune 1975: 240–45). Lejeune (1975: 242), on the other hand,

Double writing of long vowels

Table 49: *Long vowels*

Inscription	Date	Single letter	Double letter
Laos 2/Lu 46	c. 330–320	γ <u>α</u> ϕιν ϕ <u>ι</u> βιν (× 3) ϕ <u>ι</u> βιν στ <u>α</u> τιν	
Buxentum 3/Lu 45	400–300	[γ] <u>α</u> ϕις πα <u>α</u> κις	
Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47	350–300	<γ> <u>α</u> ϕιμ μ <u>ι</u> νις	
Caulonia 2	c. 325–300	ϕ <u>ε</u> ζεις	
Cosilinum 1/Lu 3	c. 300†	α <u>τ</u> ϕ <u>α</u> μ <u>α</u> τ <u>τ</u> εν[ς]	
Laos 3/Lu 63	c. 300	[σ]τ <u>α</u> τις <π> <u>α</u> κι(ς)	
Paestum 1/Lu 14	c. 300	β <u>ρ</u> α <u>τ</u> ηις	
Petelia 2	c. 300	πα <u>α</u> κολ ϕ <u>ι</u> βι(ς) μ <u>ι</u> νας (× 2) μ <u>ι</u> ναδο μ <u>ι</u> να<δ>ο στ <u>α</u> τιες (× 4) στ <u>α</u> τιο στ <u>α</u> τιω	
Potentia 13/Lu 16	325–275†	β <u>ρ</u> α <u>τ</u> εις	
Potentia 24/Lu 30	325–275	π <u>ε</u> η <u>ε</u> τε <u>φ</u> ς	
Anxia 1/Lu 39	c. 300–250	β <u>ρ</u> α <u>τ</u> ωμ	
Crimisa 3/Lu 44	c. 300–250	στ <u>α</u> τις	
Buxentum 1/Lu 62	c. 300–200	<h> <u>ι</u> π <u>ε</u> ιδ	
Potentia 17/ Lu 15	300–200	β <u>ρ</u> α{ <u>ι</u> }τ <u>η</u> ις	
Potentia 30/Lu 57	300–200	γ <u>ν</u> α <u>ρ</u>	
Potentia 22/Lu 31	Either side 200	ϕ <u>ε</u> ν <u>ζ</u> ηι	
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1/Lu 26	After c. 200†	δ <u>α</u> ϕ <u>ε</u> νς	
Potentia 9/ Lu 6	200–175		α <u>φ</u> α <u>μ</u> α <u>τ</u> ε <u>δ</u>
Potentia 10/Lu 7	200–175		α <u>φ</u> α <u>μ</u> α[<u>τ</u> ε <u>δ</u>]

Table 49: (*cont.*)

Inscription	Date	Single letter	Double letter
Potentia 3/Lu 8	200–100	στ̣α̣τ̣ις στ̣α̣(τ̣ι̣η̣ις)	
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†	α̣φ̣α̣μα̣τε̣τ̣ κ̣ω̣σ̣(τ̣)ι̣τ̣ κε̣ν̣σο̣ρ̣τα̣τ̣η̣ι	
Potentia 23/Lu 64	125–100	[F]̣ι̣β̣ις β̣ρ̣α̣τ̣η̣ις	φ̣ι̣ν̣λ̣ε̣ν̣ις

maintains that the use of double letters to mark length is the result of the influence of the Latin alphabet (which adopted the practice in the second century BC, probably under the influence of the Oscan alphabet) rather than direct influence from the Oscan alphabet. However, the earliest securely dated example of the use of double letters to write long vowels in the Latin alphabet is from 135/4 BC (Wallace 2011: 18), so it seems unlikely that the use of double <αα> in Potentia 9/Lu 6 and Potentia 10/Lu 7, which are to be dated to early in the second century, can be due to Roman influence. Certainly the use of double letters in πααπ[-?·] (Messana 8/tMe 2), as already discussed (p. 139), must be due to Oscan-alphabet influence, both because of its date (presumably before *c.* 200), and because of the other evidence for such influence in the inscriptions from Messina (pp. 137–41).

Lazzeroni also noted that in Potentia 9/Lu 6 and Potentia 10/Lu 7 the Oscan-alphabet influence appeared in a word which was part of an official formula (σενα̣τ̣εις̣ ταν̣γινο̣δ̣ α̣φ̣α̣μα̣τε̣δ̣ ‘by decree of the senate had this made’) similar to that found also in inscriptions written in the Oscan alphabet,²⁵ and attributed it to contact with the ‘civiltà egemone della Campania e del Sannio’ (Lazzeroni 1983: 180). It is not clear that the more recent discovery of φιν̣λ̣ε̣ν̣ις in Potentia 23/Lu 64 supports this connection between

²⁵ E.g. g(avis). staattiis. l(úvkíeís). klar[is. m(eddíss). t(úvťiks). senateís. tanginú]d. pestlúm. úpsannúm. faamated. p. LX (Teruentum 12/Sa 13) ‘Gawis Statiis son of Lowcis, meddix tuticus by decree of the senate ordered the building of the base for the extent of 60 feet’; there is no example of **faamated** with the preverb α- outside the Greek alphabet.

orthographic and cultural influence, since it seems to be a private inscription (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 53), and the double letter appears in a personal name, not in a formula.

Writing of geminate consonants

The writing of geminate consonants in the Greek alphabet has not been a source of great discussion. Lejeune (1970: 307) states ‘[d]erivé d’un modèle grec non archaïque, l’écriture O[sco-]Gr[ecque] note régulièrement les *consonnes géminées*’, and he observes the non-notation of geminates in Potentia 1/Lu 5 with the comment ‘(ce qui est exceptionnel . . .)’ (Lejeune 1972a: 8). However, as we shall see, the writing of double consonants to represent phonologically geminate consonants seems to be much more haphazard than Lejeune thought. Table 50 collects all instances of geminate consonants, including forms containing a

Table 50: *Geminate consonants*

Inscription	Date	Double	Single
Metapontum 1/Lu 37	c. 400–375		μεδ <u>ι</u> κ <u>ι</u> αι
Laos 2/Lu 46	330–320		με <u>δ</u> ε <u>κ</u> ον (× 3) με <u>δ</u> ε <u>κ</u> αν α <u>ρ</u> α <u>δ</u> ι <u>α</u> ν σ <u>π</u> ε <u>λ</u> (ι)αν
Buxentum 3/Lu 45	400–300	πο <u>λ</u> λ[ι <u>ε</u>]ς	
Cosilinum 1/Lu 3	c. 300†	α <u>τ</u> φα <u>μ</u> α <u>τ</u> τε <u>ν</u> [ς]	ε <u>κ</u> ς
Paestum 1/Lu 14	c. 300		α <u>ν</u> [α]f <u>ε</u> δ
Paestum 2	c. 300		μ <u>ι</u> ν <u>ι</u> η <u>ι</u> ς
Petelia 2	c. 300	κ <u>ω</u> σ <u>σ</u> αν <u>ω</u> σ <u>ο</u> λλ <u>ο</u> μ	μ <u>ι</u> ν <u>α</u> ς (× 2) μ[ι]ν <u>α</u> ς πα <u>κ</u> f <u>ι</u> ω κα <u>ι</u> δ <u>ι</u> κ <u>ω</u>
Potentia 13/Lu 16	325–275†	σ <u>τ</u> α <u>λ</u> λ <u>ι</u> ε <u>ς</u>	
Potentia 20/Lu 28	325–275†	μα <u>μ</u> ερ <u>τ</u> το <u>ι</u>	
Numistro 1/Lu 4	300–275	α <u>ρ</u> ρ <u>ι</u> ε <u>ς</u> με <u>δ</u> δ <u>ι</u> κε <u>ν</u>	με <u>δ</u> δ <u>ι</u> κε <u>ν</u>

Influence from the Oscan alphabet

Table 50: (*cont.*)

Inscription	Date	Double	Single
Anxia 1/Lu 39	300–250	φολλοηωμ	
Crimisa 3/Lu 44	c. 300–250	πολλιες κερρινομ	
Potentia 44/tLu 1	c. 225	αρροντιες	
Buxentum 1/Lu 62	300–200	με]δδες μεδδες με]δδ[ες	με]δδες μεδδες μεδ <u>ει</u> κα[τεν
Crimisa 2/Lu 24	300–200	ωυδδιης	
Potentia 17/Lu 15	300–200		ου <u>τι</u> αναι ο <u>κ</u> (ι)ηις
Potentia 28/Lu 22	300–200	στ]αλλιες	
Potentia 18	225–200		μα]μερ <u>τι</u> οι
Teuranus Ager 1/ Lu 43	Presumably before c. 200		τρεβ <u>α</u> ς
Vibo 5/tLu 3–5	Presumably before c. 200	κοττειηις	
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1/Lu 26	After c. 200†		δα <u>φ</u> ενς
Potentia 16/Lu 32	Either side 200	καποροιννα[ι]	
Potentia 9/Lu 6	200–175	σπελλιης	κ <u>φ</u> αι <u>σ</u> τορ α <u>φ</u> α <u>μα</u> τε <u>δ</u>
Potentia 10/Lu 7	200–175	σπελλ[ηις]	κ <u>φ</u> αι <u>σ</u> τορ α <u>β</u> ο <u>λι</u> ε[ς]
Numistro 2	c. 200–100		<ο>π <u>σ</u> α <u>ν</u> ω στα <u>β</u> α <u>λ</u> α <u>ν</u> ο α <u>φ</u> α <u>μα</u> τε <u>τ</u> π <u>ρ</u> ω <u>φ</u> α <u>τ</u> ε <u>δ</u>
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100†		[κ <u>φ</u>]α <u>ι</u> σ <u>τ</u> ορ
Potentia 4/Lu 10	125–100		λω <u>φ</u> κ <u>τι</u> ηις
Potentia 23/Lu 64	125–100		πα <u>κ</u> ρ <u>η</u> ις
Cosilinum 2/Lu 40	c. 100		ο <u>π</u> ι <u>ε</u> ς η <u>η</u> ι <u>ρ</u> ενς
Tauriani 1/tLu 13	c. 100		ταυ <u>ρ</u> ιανουμ

geminate consonant caused by following **-i-*, as discussed above (pp. 112–25), i.e. dental and velar stops (**-gi-* not attested), nasals, and liquids. I have underlined geminate consonants where these are written single. The table omits the following words which we cannot be sure contain a geminate consonant.

αυ[α]φεδ (Paestum 1/Lu 14). In principle, it is possible that this should in fact be restored as αυ[α]φεδ, although it must be admitted that from the photo given in Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1321) it does not look as though there is room for both <α> and <φ> in the damaged portion of the line, unless they were very close together.

ετ/ηις (Petelia 2). This could contain geminate /tt/ from **-ti-*, but the reading is not certain.

(h)εριηις (Crimisa 2/Lu 24). May contain /rr/ or /r/.

καμμσανας (Metapontum 1/Lu 37). The reading is uncertain.

πακολ (Petelia 2). Could be /pa:koll/ or /pa:kol/.

πακτιη<ι>ς (Crimisa 1/Lu 23). Probably /pakt^hēis/, but could also be a mistake for πακτηις.

πακις (Buxentum 3/Lu 45), <π>ακι(ς) (Laos 3/Lu 63). May contain /kk/ or /k/.

ρεκος (Buxentum 1/Lu 62). Unclear whether this is an *o*-stem acc. pl., which would end in /oss/, or another form.

The analysis of the evidence regarding writing of double consonants is not obvious. There is no geographical distinction, since most places have inscriptions which show both single and double letters. Inscriptions with single-letter spellings are found in both Bruttium and Lucania, and in both areas both single- and double-letter spellings are found. There seems to be no particular distinction of genre which can be observed with regard to spellings of geminates: consistent single-spelling is found in the curse tablet Laos 2/Lu 46, but both double- and single-spelling are found in the curse tablet Petelia 2. Consistent single-spelling is found in the official dedication Potentia 1/Lu 5, but both double- and single-spellings in the dedication by a magistrate Numistro 1/Lu 4, in the law code Buxentum 1/Lu 62, and the official dedications Potentia 9/Lu 6 and Potentia 10/Lu 7.

On the face of it, there does seem to be a chronological change from variation between double- and single-spellings between about 400–300 and 200–175 BC, with only single-spellings from c. 200–c. 100. This would be very unexpected, given that the

historical development of other orthographies such as the Latin and Greek (when used to write Greek) alphabets was from non-writing of geminates with double letters to consistent use of double letters, while in the Oscan alphabet the movement was from no double letters in the earliest inscriptions to optional and inconsistent use of double letters in the majority of inscriptions.²⁶ Since use of single-spelling was clearly always an option in the Greek alphabet when writing Oscan, it is likely simply to be a coincidence that our more recent inscriptions happen to use single-spellings only. It is also important to bear in mind that the dating of Potentia 1/Lu 5 is uncertain, and it perhaps could be as early as 200 BC. Within inscriptions, use of both single- and double-spellings of geminates seems to be the norm: of the eleven inscriptions with two or more examples of geminates, only five (Laos 2/Lu 46, Crimisa 3/Lu 44, Potentia 17/Lu 15, Potentia 1/Lu 5 and Cosilinum 2/Lu 40) do not use both spellings. In these cases, most use only single-spellings (the exception is Crimisa 3/Lu 44, which has two cases of double-spellings).

It is possible that the absence of double letters to represent geminate consonants may be the result of influence from the Oscan alphabet, where double letters to write geminates were developed before 300 BC, but were always used inconsistently. By contrast, the East Ionic Greek alphabet had developed double-spelling of geminates long before the adoption of the alphabet to write Oscan. However, the use of double letters was not always consistent, as shown by the examples from Attica given by Threatte (1980: 514–17), which include a number from the fourth to first centuries BC and from Egyptian papyri and ostraca (Mayser and Schmoll 1970: 186–91); note also Immerwahr (1990: 169). There are a handful of examples from south Italian sources from the fourth to first centuries BC: Ἑμ(μ)ενίδας (Manganaro 2004: 67 fn. 79), κυπάρισ(σ)ος, ἀλ(λ)ά (Pugliese Carratelli in Foti and Pugliese Carratelli 1974: 110–11, l.3 and l.11 respectively), γλώσ(σ)ας (Lazzarini 1994: 164), ἀλ(λ)ά, ἐδάμα<σ>σε (IG 14.641 l.5). So the failure to spell geminates with double

²⁶ Buck (1928: 25–6, 100). On the Latin alphabet, see Wallace (2011: 18), on the Greek see Wachter (2010: 55).

letters is not necessarily a feature foreign to the writing of Greek in this period and region. However, the use of single letters for geminates is uncommon in Greek sources ('it is unusual to find them simplified ... Examples of simplification occur sporadically', Threatte 1980: 513–14), whereas there are thirty-eight instances of single-spellings to twenty-one of double-spellings in the Oscan inscriptions. It seems not implausible, therefore, that the frequent use of single letters in the Greek-alphabet inscriptions may be due to knowledge of the conventions of the Oscan alphabet.

There is, however, one difference in the specifics of the orthography of gemination in the Greek and Oscan alphabets, which is the writing of /s/ in /st/ sequences. As far as I am aware, it has not previously been observed that the spelling of this sequence as <sst> is restricted to loan-words from Latin and Greek:²⁷ [k]vaísstur (Pompeii 20/Po 9, Pompeii 25/Po 10), kvaísstur (Pompeii 21/Po 4), kva]ísstur (Pompeii 23/Po 14), kvaísstur (Pompeii 24/Po 3) < Lat. *quaestor*, *passtata* (Pompeii 9/Po 5) < Gk. παστάς 'porch', *perisstul[leis* (Abella 3/Cm 3) < περίστυλον 'colonnade' (compare *pústiris* Teruentum 8/Sa 4 'later', *piístiaí* Teruentum 34.A 14, B 17/Sa 1, *eestint* Teruentum 34.B 1/Sa 1 'they stand', *tristaamentud* Pompeii 24/Po 3 'by the will',²⁸ *estud* Abella 1.B 14, 18/Cm 1 'let be').²⁹ This spelling is not quite invariable, since there is a single example of *kvaístureí* (Abella 1. B 3–4/Cm 1), but it is clearly common. We do not find <σσ> in these environments in the Greek inscriptions: κραιστορ (Potentia 9/Lu 6, Potentia 10/Lu 7), κρ[α]στορ (Potentia 4/Lu 10), and it is just

²⁷ There is evidence for gemination (or ambisyllabicity?) of /s/ before /t/ in both Greek and Latin (Kretschmer 1894: 174–5; Leumann 1977: 218–19; Threatte 1980: 510, 527–9); the following Greek examples come from Italy in the fourth–first centuries BC: Ὀνομάσστου (D'Amore 2007 no. 4), Ἀρίστας (Vecchio 2003: 111–12 no. 33), Ἀσσυάνασ[σα] (Bottini and Greco 1974–1975: 250–57 no. 14), ὥσστε (Lo Porto 1980: 283 1.8), Ἀστέας (SEG 35 no. 1036), [A]στέας (SEG 52 no. 993; see also Trendall 1987: 84–6).

²⁸ This form is ultimately a loan-word from Latin *testāmentum* but has been 'Oscanised' (*trist-* for *test-*).

²⁹ The example *púststist* (Abella 1.B 7/Cm 1) given by Buck (1928: 99) is very uncertain: it is read as *pús stí<n>t* by Crawford *et al.* (2011). Other cases of <ss> before a consonant represent etymological /ss/: *kerssnaís* (Capua 22/Cp 31) 'feasts (dat. pl.)', *kerss<n>asias* 'pertaining to feasts' (Capua 26/Cp 29) come from **kertsnā-* < **kert-es-nā* (Untermann 2000: 392–4); *peesslūm* (Atina 1/Sa 14) comes from *pestlūm* (Teruentum 12/Sa 13) (Untermann 2000: 548–9).

possible that this could be a difference in the orthography of double letters between the Oscan and Greek alphabets ([sst] in borrowed words treated as any other geminate in the Greek alphabet, while being nearly always written in the Oscan alphabet).

The variation that we see in the writing of geminate consonants by means of double letters is to some extent paralleled by cases of use of single letters for geminates in Greek sources during the same time-period as the Oscan inscriptions. However, the frequency of use seems to be unusual from a Greek perspective, and it is instead very similar to the conventions of the Oscan alphabet, in which use of double letters seems always to have been optional. This may point to knowledge of, and influence from, the Oscan alphabet in Lucania and Bruttium. If the case of the spelling of /st/ were reliable, this might suggest a situation whereby (some) writers were aware of the general orthographic habits of the Oscan alphabet (double letters to write geminate consonants are non-compulsory), without being aware of specific counter-examples to this rule (more-or-less compulsory double writing of <s> for /sst/ in loan-words). If so, this would be a fascinating insight into the level of knowledge of the Oscan alphabet and its orthography in Lucania and Bruttium, and hence of the types of contact between Oscan-speakers in this area and Campania and Samnium. However, it must be admitted that this evidence is very slight, so can do no more than hint at the possibilities in this area.

The use of <vγ> for /ng/

Lazzeroni (1983: 179) supposes that the frequent use of <vγ> rather than the ‘Greek’ spelling <γγ> is evidence for Oscan-alphabet influence, since this sequence is spelt <ng> in the Oscan alphabet. However, <vγ> is a common non-standard spelling for /ng/ in Greek inscriptions elsewhere in the Greek-speaking world (Threatte 1980: 597–601), and is also found in south Italy in the fourth–first centuries, although there are admittedly very few examples. I have found it only in ἀναγγελιοντι in the Tabulae Heracleenses (IG 14.645 l.118), εγγυθεν (Pugliese Carratelli in Foti and Pugliese Carratelli 1974: 110–11 l.4), and σφινγία

(IG 14.1302a; cf. λύνξ IG 14.1302p). See McDonald (2015: 90); Zair (2013: 223).

Conclusion

As previously observed by Lazzeroni and Poccetti, the orthography of Oscan written in the Greek alphabet shows signs of having been influenced by the conventions of the Oscan alphabet. The clearest examples are found in the small number of inscriptions from Messina, in which are found a couple of spellings which are strongly reminiscent of the Oscan alphabet and which are not found in Lucania or Bruttium (<ιυ> for *-u- after a dental, <μσ> for [mps]); in addition to these, we find a cluster of spellings which must (<αα> for /a:/) or may (<κσ> for /ks/, <πσ> for /ps/) be due to Oscan-alphabet influence, and which are also found in Lucania and Bruttium. Altogether, these spellings suggest that the inscriptions from Messina may have been written by Oscan-speakers who spoke a different dialect from that of Oscan-speakers in Lucania and Bruttium, and were at any rate conversant with the conventions of the Oscan alphabet, and actively choosing to use them. This fits in with our historical evidence for a Campanian or Samnite origin of the Mamertini in Messina.

In Lucania and Bruttium, there are also some signs of influence from the Oscan alphabet. The use of double letters for long vowels is completely foreign to the Greek alphabet and is very likely to be the result of contact with the Oscan alphabet. Similarly, the use of <h> as a hiatus-marker at the end of the base of names ending in a vowel is entirely consistent with the conventions of the Oscan alphabet. However, in other cases, the connection is not so clear. The very occasional usage of <κσ> and <πσ> for /ks/ and /ps/ respectively is not entirely without parallel in Greek-language texts. Nor is the writing of geminate consonants with double letters. The close-to-consistent spelling of /ng/ as <νγ> is very frequent in Greek texts as well. In the case of the first two, it is difficult to know whether to attribute them to Oscan influence, or whether they should be seen in the light of the infrequent, but not unknown, Greek-language parallels. If they are due to contact with other orthographies it is worth pointing out that Latin could also

have played a rôle. Latin was certainly being written in Lucania and Bruttium by the second century BC (e.g. CIL I².581, 638), and the Latin alphabet uses <ps> for /ps/, and did not consistently write geminate consonants until the first century (Wallace 2011: 18). When it comes to the use of <f> in diphthongs, influence from the Oscan alphabet is again possible, but there is also a plausible explanation for its adoption which does not require it.

Although Lazzeroni and Poccetti are right to have seen influence of the Oscan alphabet on the orthography of the Greek-alphabet inscriptions, in my opinion they are not right to have drawn the conclusions they did. Apart from in Messina, the plausible cases are extremely sporadic instances among the far more frequent spellings which obey the norms of Greek orthography. In my view, the evidence supports the picture suggested by Chapters 2 and 3, in which spelling decisions happen at an individual level, with some writers demonstrating some knowledge of the Oscan alphabet in addition to the Greek alphabet, but with no evidence for the ‘scribal schools’ assumed by Lazzeroni.

As for Poccetti’s claims, we have seen that his picture of a strong difference between the orthographies of Lucania (heavily influenced by the Oscan alphabet), and Bruttium (no influence from the Oscan alphabet) has tended to be rather overstated (e.g. on the absence of <f> and <h> in Bruttium, and absence of <ψ> and <ξ> in Lucania). Nonetheless, on the current state of the evidence, it does seem to be the case that most of the innovations that are likely to be based on the Oscan alphabet are restricted to Lucania (<πσ> and <κσ>, double writing of vowels, use of <h> as a hiatus-marker in names). This, of course, would not be surprising, since we would expect that those writers of Oscan living nearer to Campania and Samnium would be more likely to come into contact with users of the Oscan alphabet. However, it must be noted that the evidence from Bruttium is much less than that from Lucania, and Lucania shows great variation, so there is a high chance that these features are missing from the Brettian area purely by coincidence, and it would not be surprising if future discoveries contradict this picture.

CONCLUSIONS

Orthographic variation and possible explanations

There is considerable variation in many aspects of the spelling in Oscan inscriptions written in the Greek alphabet (see [Chapters 2, 3](#) and [4 passim](#)) from Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily. In some cases, this variation provides us with evidence about the phonological features of Oscan in general, or the Oscan spoken in the south in particular. The phonology of the inscriptions is discussed below. The widespread nature of this variation suggests that there seems simply never to have developed a fixed orthography for particular sounds or sequences of sounds. The clearest example of this is in the vowel system, as discussed in [Chapter 2](#), where certain vowels could be represented by up to three different letters or digraphs, even within the same inscription; furthermore, the same symbols could be used for more than one vowel or diphthong, even within the same inscription. For convenience, [Table 27](#), showing the spelling of vowels, is repeated here as [Table 51](#). Similar cases of variation are found, for example, in the spelling of original clusters of consonant plus **-ĭ-*, where the resulting palatalisation after loss of **-ĭ-* is represented either by writing <ι> after the consonant (and in one instance before the consonant), or by omitting the <ι> (pp. [112–25](#)); spelling of allophonic voiced [z] with either <σ> or <ζ> (pp. [105–10](#)); spelling of nasalised vowels from **-n-* before dental obstruents, which are sometimes represented by <ν> following the vowel (pp. [129–33](#)). It must be stressed that, in almost all cases, no chronological or areal distribution has been identified for these variations (the only possible example is the absence of Oscan-alphabet-influenced features in Bruttium).

Undiscussed so far in this book has been the handful of Oscan inscriptions written in the Greek alphabet outside Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily, which are Cumae 17, Cumae 22, Cumae 23,

Conclusions

Table 51: *Spelling of Oscan vowels in the Greek alphabet*

	Spelling 1	Spelling 2	Spelling 3
/i/	<ι>		
/e/	<ι>	<ε>	<ει>
/ε/	<ε>		
/ει/	<ει> (perhaps not C1st)	<ηι>	
/a/	<α>		
/o/	<ο>	<ω> (from C3rd)	
/u/	<ου>	<ο>	<υ> (only [y] < *u- after dental)

Teinum Sidicinum 25, Surrentum 4/Cm 16, Picentia 3/Cm 31. These do not show any major differences from those from further south: note both <ει> and <ηι> for /ει/ in $\Phi\iota\rho\iota\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (Surrentum 4/Cm 16, c. 325–300) and $\lambda\alpha\nu\Phi\iota\eta\iota\varsigma$ (Picentia 3/Cm 31, c. 300) respectively, <ο> and <ω> for /o/ in $\sigma\pi\iota\varsigma$ (Cumae 17, c. 300) and (presumably) $\pi\lambda\alpha\tau\omega\rho$ (Teinum Sidicinum 25, c. 300) respectively, <ου> for /u:/ in $\sigma\upsilon\psi\epsilon$ (Teinum Sidicinum 25); single <ι> for /i:/ in $\Phi\iota\beta\iota(\varsigma)$ (Cumae 23); use of <ψ> for /ps/ in $\sigma\upsilon\psi\epsilon$ (Teinum Sidicinum 25); presence of <ι> after <φ> in $\lambda\alpha\nu\Phi\iota\eta\iota\varsigma$ (Picentia 3/Cm 31).¹ The evidence of the orthography shows that previous attempts to identify a fixed orthographic system which applied to all – or even the majority – of Oscan inscriptions in the Greek alphabet cannot be substantiated. This considerably undermines the hypothesis of the existence of ‘orthographic schools’, explicitly assumed by Lejeune (1970: 272, 276; 1972a: 10; despite the problems already identified in the latter article), and – explicitly or

¹ Interestingly, there is evidence for different orthography in inscriptions earlier than the fourth century BC, using variants of the Greek alphabet subsequently replaced by use of the Ionic alphabet (Salernum 1, Salernum 2/Ps 8, Salernum 3, if these are Oscan and not ‘Pre-Samnite’, Picentia 2/Cm 37). In particular, we find <υ> for /u/ not after a dental in $\sigma\pi\iota\upsilon\rho(\iota\varsigma)$ (Picentia 2/Cm 37, 425–400) and $\sigma\pi\iota\upsilon(\rho\iota\varsigma)$ (Salernum 1, 500–450), in the Euboean and Achaean alphabets respectively. This is due to the absence of *u- > /y/ in the Greek dialects which used these alphabets, with <υ> consequently retaining the value /u/.

implicitly – by subsequent writers (e.g. Lazzeroni 1983, Del Tutto Palma 1989).²

Instead, we must work with a framework of ‘individual’ decisions about how to spell a given sound or sequence of sounds.³ In some cases (e.g. the spelling of /e/ in *Potentia* 1/Lu 5 and *Buxentum* 1/Lu 62), a separate – and not necessarily consistent – decision seems to have been made for every separate instance of the sound. In many ways, such a situation is not surprising, since there are many examples of writing systems which have not established a standardised orthographic norm. A parallel close in both space and time is the Umbrian writing systems: in both the Umbrian and Latin alphabets no consistent means of spelling /e/ was developed, both <e> and <i> being used in the Umbrian alphabet, and <e>, <ei> and <i> being used in the Latin alphabet (Meiser 1986: 27, 40–41).⁴

The absence of orthographic norms in some inscriptions was already noted by Poccetti (1988: 141–58), who sees a distinction between *Bruttium* – without developed norms – and *Lucania* in this regard, which was also a distinction between the language of private and official inscriptions. Given the absence of ‘public/official’ inscriptions from *Bruttium* – which were written in Greek in this area – the *Brettii* never, according to Poccetti, took part in the development of a fixed orthographic system (which in *Lucania* went along with the development of a formulaic official language shared with Oscan inscriptions from *Campania* and *Samnium*). However, such a connection between the presence and absence of official/public inscriptions in *Lucania* and *Bruttium* respectively, and presence and absence of orthographic norms in these areas, cannot be upheld, since we have a number

² In particular, this means that attempts to attribute the changes in vowel orthography identified by Lejeune (see Chapter 2) as happening around 300 either to the adoption of additional letters into the Greek alphabet or to the influence of the reform of the Oscan alphabet (Lazzeroni 1983: 173) must be abandoned, since such a change never occurred.

³ I have put ‘individual’ in quote marks here because I do not want to rule out the possibility that there may have been very localised spelling conventions which we cannot identify within the evidence due to its sparseness. Note that the greatest concentration of inscriptions is from *Rossano di Vaglio* (*Potentia*), where there is certainly great variation. However, as a cult centre, the sanctuary at *Rossano* may have attracted dedicants from a fairly wide geographical area.

⁴ For further examples of a lack of established orthographic norms, compare Middle Cornish (Williams 2011: 241), and Old and Middle English (Rutkowska and Rössler 2012: 20–24).

of inscriptions in Lucania that can only be described as official/public and which are highly characterised by variation, notably Buxentum 1/Lu 62, a bronze law tablet whose content shows it to be clearly part of the developing legal language characteristic of both Oscan inscriptions in the Oscan alphabet, and Latin (on this see McDonald and Zair 2012 [2013]); Potentia 1/Lu 5, whose formula $\sigma\epsilon\nu\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. $(\tau)\alpha\nu\gamma\iota\nu\omicron\tau$. $\alpha\phi\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau$ / $\epsilon\iota\zeta\iota\delta\omicron\mu$. $\pi\rho\omega\phi\alpha\tau\epsilon\delta$ clearly belongs to the official language seen frequently in Campania and Samnium (compare e.g. Pompeii 8/Po 6, Pompeii 24/Po 3); and Numistro 1/Lu 4, a magistrate's inscription.

Despite the failure of the public/private dichotomy suggested by Poccetti, he is surely correct in highlighting the importance of the existence, side by side with Oscan, of Greek. Under this view, a plausible model, at least for some writers, will be literacy (of varying degrees, and including knowledge of the orthographic rules for writing Greek) in Greek rather than in Oscan; that is, I posit the existence of widely recognised norms in Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily for the writing of Greek, and assume that when scribes learned to write, this is what they learned. For Oscan, I suggest that such norms never developed, at least outside relatively small, locally determined groups, so that Oscan spelling tended not to be 'fixed' over a wide area, or necessarily across or even within individuals (for first thoughts in this direction see Zair 2013; the effect is rather like some of the situations of bilingualism but not biliteracy discussed by Adams 2003: 40–67).

The categories of phoneme or phoneme clusters in which variation particularly arises are clearly related to the resources available in the Greek alphabet. Thus, the Greek alphabet (unlike the Latin or Oscan alphabets) had symbols for both the Greek phonemes /s/ and /z/; from the point of view of an Oscan speaker, [z] could either be written with < σ >, since it was an allophone of /s/, or could be written with < ζ >, since this represented the same sound in Greek (and would otherwise be a dead letter). The situation is similar, though more complicated, with regard to Greek vowels. Greek had five short vowels, /i/, /y/, /e/, /a/, /o/ (represented by < ι >, < υ >, < ϵ >, < α > and < $\omicron$ > respectively), and seven long vowels, /i:/, /y:/, /e:/, / ϵ :/, /a:/, /o:/ and /u:/ (represented by < ι >, < υ >, < $\epsilon\iota$ >, < η >, < $\omicron$ >, < $\omicron\iota$ > and < $\omicron\upsilon$ > respectively).

<α>, <ω> and <ου> respectively).⁵ This did not match well with Oscan, which had three short unrounded front vowels (/ε/, /e/, /i/) and two back vowels (/o/ and /u/), while in Oscan [y] was an allophone of /u/ rather than a separate phoneme as in Greek. The systems matched better in the long vowels, where Oscan had /i:/, /e:/, /ε:/, /a:/, /o:/ and /u:/ (and perhaps /y:/). However, vowel length was at best marginal in non-initial syllables in Oscan, and long /ε:/ and /o:/ would have been quite rare, being the result only of compensatory lengthening processes.⁶

These mismatches need not, of course, have prevented the creation of a consistent unified orthography for Oscan, with the Greek values of the letters being (re)assigned to the nearest Oscan equivalent. However, given that the creation of such a spelling system clearly did not take place, it is easy to see how different individuals could make different decisions about which (di)graph to use on the basis of the Greek values: thus, for example, to represent /u/ in Oscan, an individual could prefer a Greek (di)graph closer in quality (<ου> = Greek /u:/) or closer in quantity (<o> = Greek /o/). Given the relative rarity of /o:/ in Oscan, it is not surprising that <ω> is normally used to represent the short version of the lowest back vowel /o/ in Oscan, although /ω/ is used for /o:/ in κωσ(τ)ιτ (Potentia 1/Lu 5). We do not find <η> being used for compensatorily lengthened /ε:/ in φεζεῖς (Caulonia 2) or πεθετεῖς (Potentia 24/Lu 30), but it is frequently used for /ε/ in the diphthong /εi/. This presumably reflects the fact that /ε:i/ was the only front diphthong in Greek;⁷ the spelling <εi> for Oscan /εi/ is

⁵ For the purposes of illustration, here I use the values of the vowels which would have probably pertained for Attic/koine Greek around the earliest period of the attested Oscan inscriptions (fourth century bc). In practice, this system changed over time, with /e:/ at least beginning to fall together with /i:/, /ai/ to merge with /ε/, and the loss of vowel-length in the course of the fourth to first centuries (Horrocks 2010: 160–70). Furthermore, Oscan-speakers will also have been in contact with speakers of Ionic, Doric and/or North-West Greek dialects, with different vowel systems; in particular, in some of these dialects, /y/ was lacking from the inventory, with a two-way short-vowel distinction on the back axis of /o/ and /u/ and a three-way distinction in long back-vowels between /ɔ:/, /o:/ and /u:/ (Buck 1955: 28).

⁶ One could even argue that the long versions of /ε/ and /o/ resulting from loss of *-n- before a dental consonant were non-phonemic, since they would also have been characterised by nasalisation.

⁷ In fact, by the time of the Oscan inscriptions, (Attic/koine) Greek /ε:i/ may have become /e:/, at least for some speakers (Horrocks 2010: 163). But the traditional spelling would have remained <ηi>.

then due to the writer thinking of the sequence as representing /ε/ + /i/, hence <εi>.

We have already noted orthographic variation in other pre-modern writing systems, so the lack of standardisation in Oscan written in the Greek alphabet can be seen as unremarkable. However, such variation in a spelling system used to write Oscan is arguably surprising because there is an often-remarked-upon consistency in the spelling using the Oscan alphabet (e.g. Penney 1988: 732–3), and an ‘official’ formulaic language common to Oscan in both the Oscan-alphabet and the Greek-alphabet using areas (on which see Lazzeroni 1983: 180 and Poccetti 1988: 111–24), which suggests considerable cultural contact between Oscan-speakers in the different areas. The absence of a development of a fixed orthographic system for Oscan in the Greek alphabet, unlike Oscan in the Oscan alphabet, may to some extent be explained by the prior existence of Greek as a standardised written language in the area. As already argued in Zair (2013), Oscan-speakers did not necessarily think of themselves as using an ‘Oscan’ version of the Greek alphabet, distinguished from the ‘Greek’ Greek alphabet. I would speculate instead that for many Oscan-speakers in Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily, ‘learning to write’ primarily meant learning to write Greek, in terms of both alphabet and orthography. Therefore, the idea of a specifically Oscan orthography might not have arisen, because there was not seen to be a need for it. As a consequence, when the necessity arose of writing an Oscan phoneme which did not have an equivalent in Greek, the decision of how to spell it was taken on an individual basis, but based on the available repertoire of Greek orthography.⁸ That a process like this is what took place is backed up by the remarkable fact that almost every example of <ηι> is used to spell either the Oscan consonant-stem dative singular -ηι or the *o*- and consonant-stem genitive singular -ηις, which can be attributed to the influence of

⁸ Although it seems likely that Oscan and Greek bilingualism was common, I do not mean to rule out the possibility that some Oscan speakers who did not speak Greek learnt the Greek alphabet in order to write Oscan only. However, I assume that there were enough Greek-speakers and -writers that there was never a separation into an ‘Osco-Greek’ writing tradition that had no connection with Greek orthography.

the orthography used in writing Greek, where <ηι> appeared most commonly in case-endings (see p. 95).

Although this situation seems to me a plausible reason for much of the variation seen in the spelling of Oscan in the Greek alphabet, there were also other influences, including the adoption – apparently only in Lucania and Messina – of conventions from the Oscan alphabet (such as double writing of long vowels), and the development of innovative spellings (from the point of view of the Greek alphabet) based on the differences between Oscan and Greek phonology. An example of this is the spelling of [y] from *-u- after a dental. As we have seen in [Chapter 2](#), in Oscan inscriptions, this sound is sometimes written with <υ>, but at other times it is written with <ο> or <ου>, which are also used for /u/ in other environments. This is presumably because [y] is an allophone of /u/, so a writer can choose either to represent the sound [y] with the letter which represents the same sound in Greek (where it is a separate phoneme), or to use the (di)graph appropriate to the phoneme of which it is an allophone in Oscan. That this spelling is – as we would expect – unique to Oscan inscriptions is backed up by the spelling of the Oscan name νυμφιος in Greek inscriptions,⁹ in which only <υ> is used, as can be seen in the list of examples in Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1525–34)¹⁰ The spelling of [y] with <ο> or <ου>, which is completely explicable from the standpoint of Oscan phonology, is not what we would expect if the writer were mechanically writing Oscan by transposing the values of the Greek letters to Oscan sounds.

It is possible – not to say probable – that there may have been some variation in approaches between individuals or groups of writers. Some may have adopted specific orthographic characteristics which they used to write Oscan in the Greek alphabet, but not to write Greek (if they also wrote Greek); these were clearly not adopted across all of Lucania and Bruttium, nor would all writers in the same locality necessarily have felt the need to adopt the same principles; one could also imagine that an individual writer's practice might vary. For example, if the adoption of 'non-Greek'

⁹ I.e. inscriptions in which the name is inflected as Greek, and other linguistic features of the inscription are wholly Greek.

¹⁰ I am grateful to James Clackson for drawing this fact to my attention.

spellings was an active choice to emphasise an Oscan-speaking identity, one could imagine that there were situations in which a writer felt that this emphasis was more or less important, and consequently was more or less strict in his or her usage of ‘Oscan’ conventions (and, conversely, in certain circumstances a ‘Greek’ convention might be explicitly chosen¹¹).¹² Even where features were seen as being emblematic of ‘Oscan’ rather than ‘Greek’ spelling,¹³ this does not necessarily mean that an entire ‘Oscan’ orthographic system need have been developed; a parallel could be the use of language as a marker of identity, where certain features become seen as characteristic of a dialect or language, while others are not used in the same way. Consequently, it is possible that any writers of Oscan who did wish to use spelling in this way may have identified only a small number of conventions as being emblematically ‘Oscan’, and been happy to leave the ‘correct’ spelling of other sounds undefined.

We can conclude that there was no general set of fixed orthographic rules for writing Oscan in the Greek alphabet which applied over the whole of Lucania, Bruttium and Sicily. I would argue that this never developed because literacy was seen primarily in terms of being able to write Greek, and therefore there was no impetus for the development of separate

¹¹ A possible example of this is the form <τ>{αυ}αγγινουδ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62), in which <υ> for /ng/ has been replaced by <γγ>, thus suggesting that the author is aiming to use standard (educated) Greek spelling rather than substandard (or, conceivably, ‘Oscan’) <υ>.

¹² On the relationship between the use of Oscan and Greek in self-representation see McDonald (2015, esp. 222–33), but note also Langslow (2012) on the dangers of attributing meaning of this sort to linguistic (or in this case orthographic) features in the ancient world.

¹³ An obvious marker of ‘Oscan’ rather than ‘Greek’ writing might seem to be the presence of the letters <f>, <h> and <p>. But <h> and <p> were still in use in writing Greek in some areas for at least some of the time that Oscan was written: the latest example of <h> that I have found is from the third or second century (Pugliese Carratelli 1983–1984), and the latest examples of <p> are from the second half and second quarter of the fourth century (Moretti 1984 and Miranda 1990–1995: 2.103–5 no. 190 respectively). And anyway, these letters may not have been thought of as characteristically ‘Oscan’, at least by Oscan-speakers (see Zair 2013: 224–5). Furthermore, as Katherine McDonald (p.c.) points out to me, the sign for <f> in the Greek alphabet used to write Oscan may have been invented by Greek-speakers minting coins in Naples for Oscan-speaking communities (Cristofani 1996 [1998]), with legends in Greek as well as Oscan, so that the line between <f> as a ‘Greek’ or ‘Oscan’ letter may have been blurry.

orthographic norms specifically to write Oscan. As a result, some writers of Oscan probably simply did their best to apply their knowledge of Greek orthography to the different phonological system of Oscan. Others did develop some orthographic features specifically for writing Oscan, some of which may have become local traditions (although never becoming widespread); some of these features were apparently based on knowledge of the Oscan alphabet. The use of specific orthographic features, even by individuals, was often inconsistent. What value, if any, was placed on the use of Oscan-specific orthographic features is difficult to ascertain. The most plausible case of orthography being used as a marker of identity is the case of the inscriptions from Messina, where there is a cluster of Oscan-alphabet-influenced spellings. However, in this case, the assertion of identity may not have been ‘Oscan’ as opposed to ‘Greek’, but Campanian/Samnite as opposed to Lucanian/Brettian. It is also possible, of course, that the influence from the Oscan alphabet in these inscriptions did not come with any identity politics attached at all.

Dating of inscriptions on orthographic grounds

As we have seen on pp. 10–12, Lejeune (1970, 1972a, 1990: 25–35) developed a method of dating Oscan written in the Greek alphabet on the basis of letter shapes and orthographic features, assuming a more-or-less straightforward chronological development. Many, but not all, of the criteria involving letter shapes have been discarded by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 48, 55), while most of the criteria involving orthography have been accepted. In Chapters 2 and 3, the dating of these features has been examined in detail, with conclusions that are very largely negative. These conclusions are summarised here.

With regard to vowels, variation in the spelling of /e/ as <ε, ε1, ι> and /u/ as <ο, ου> (and <υ> after a dental) is widespread at all times, and cannot be used as a dating criterion. The vowel /o/ is spelt as both <ο> and <ω> from the third century onwards; there are no examples of <ω> before the third century, so its presence may be usable as a *terminus post quem*. However, since there are

only four fourth-century inscriptions containing /o/, the absence of <ω> in these may be a coincidence. Variation in the spelling of /εi/ between <εi> and <ηi> is found throughout, although <ηi> is more common. The majority of examples of <εi> come from the fourth and third centuries, but <εi> is still occasionally found in the second century, so can be used as a dating criterion only in (probably) ruling out a first-century date. The spelling of the heterosyllabic /ow/ diphthong as <ouf> does seem to be chronologically restricted, insofar as the two reliably datable inscriptions with this spelling are datable to c. 300 and 300–275 (Paestum 1/Lu 14 and Numistro 1/Lu 4 respectively; the dating of Vibo 2/Lu 25 to c. 300 is unreliable because it partly relies on this very feature). However, given the small number of data points, I would be wary of using this spelling as a firm dating criterion.

With regard to consonants, the shapes of <h> can be used as a dating criterion, although a very limited one. The presence of H (in words; it appears to have been preserved longer as a numeral) suggests a fourth or third century date. No conclusions about date can be drawn from the presence of F. No conclusions can be drawn from the variants of the S-shape for <f>. Use of <β> to represent /f/, although infrequent, is probably attested from the fourth century to after 200, and cannot therefore be used as a dating criterion. Use of <θ> was probably restricted to the fourth and third centuries. As a way of spelling intervocalic /s/, <ζ> is not usable, being attested from the fourth century to the second century. As a spelling of the reflex of **dī-*, <ζ> is found in an inscription dated to ‘either side of 200’ (Potentia 11/Lu 35), but <δi> is still used in the early second century, so this may not be a very good criterion.

As a result of these conclusions regarding letter shapes and orthography I suggest changes to the datings established by Crawford *et al.* (2011) for the following inscriptions.

Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1/Lu 26. Crawford *et al.* (2011): after c. 200 (F for <h>). In fact, it cannot be dated.

Cosilinum 1/Lu 3. Crawford *et al.* (2011): c. 300 (S for <f>; see Chapter 1 fn. 4). An earlier date than Potentia 1/Lu 5, Potentia 9/Lu 6 and Potentia 10/Lu 7 is suggested by the lack of assimilation in ατφαματτεν[ς, compared to αφαματεδ (Potentia 9/Lu 6),

Dating of inscriptions on orthographic grounds

- αφαμα[τεδ] (Potentia 10/Lu 7), αφαματετ (Potentia 1/Lu 5). Hence I give a date of before 200.
- Potentia 1/Lu 5. Crawford *et al.* (2011), following Lejeune (1971: 672, 678–9): 125–100 (<β> for /f/, <ζ> for /s/, development of *-st- to [ss]). On the unreliability of *-st- to [ss] as a dating criterion see Table 2 note d. It must be after 200, as a magistrate's inscription at Rossano di Vaglio (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 53–4). Hence I give a date of 200–100, since 100 is the latest date at this site given by Crawford *et al.* (2011).
- Potentia 13/Lu 16. Crawford *et al.* (2011): 325–275 (<ει> for /ei/). It must be before 200, as a re-used inscription at Rossano di Vaglio (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 53–4). Hence I give a date of 325–200, since 325 is the earliest date at this site given by Crawford *et al.* (2011).
- Potentia 14/Lu 34. Crawford *et al.* (2011): 125–100 (<β> for /f/). It must be before 200, as a re-used inscription at Rossano di Vaglio.¹⁴ Hence I give a date of 325–200, since 325 is the earliest date at this site given by Crawford *et al.* (2011).
- Potentia 19/Lu 36. Crawford *et al.* (2011): 325–275 (<ει> for /ei/). It must be before 200, as a re-used inscription at Rossano di Vaglio. Hence I give a date of 325–200, since 325 is the earliest date at this site given by Crawford *et al.* (2011).
- Potentia 20/Lu 28. Crawford *et al.* (2011): 325–275 (<θ> for /f/). It must be before 200 (<θ> for /f/). Hence I give a date of 325–200, since 325 is the earliest date at this site given by Crawford *et al.* (2011).
- Vibo 2/Lu 25. Crawford *et al.* (2011): c. 300 (<ουφ> for heterosyllabic /ow/, <ει> for /ei/). It is perhaps 300–275 on basis of <ουφ>. Otherwise 'presumably before c. 200', as other inscriptions from Vibo Valentia.
- Vibo 7/Lu 7. Crawford *et al.* (2011): c. 300–275 (<ει> for /ei/). It is presumably before c. 200, as for the other stamps from Vibo Valentia.

We can therefore produce a final table of dates for all the inscriptions considered in this book (Table 52); where no new dating is given, that of Crawford *et al.* (2011), with the changes made in Table 2, is accepted.

¹⁴ I take Crawford *et al.*'s (2011: 56) comment that '[t]he only late private re-used dedication seems to be Potentia 14/[Lu 34], re-used in a repair, not the construction, of the perimeter wall, after 125–100 BC' to be a deduction from their late dating on orthographic grounds rather than being based on archaeological evidence, since they explicitly disregard the interpretation of Lejeune (Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971: 77–8; Crawford *et al.* 2011: 51–3) and do not mention any other evidence.

Conclusions

Table 52: *New datings of the inscriptions*

Inscription	Lejeune's dating	Crawford <i>et al.</i> (2011) dating	New dating
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1/Lu 26		After c. 200	No date
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 2		c. 200–100	
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 3/Lu 18		c. 375–350	
Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 4		c. 75	
Lucania 1/Lu 19		c. 350	
Lucani 1/nLu 1		207–204	
Paestum 1/Lu 14		c. 300	
Paestum 2		c. 300	
Paestum 3/Lu 42		370–360	
Buxentum 1/Lu 62		c. 300–200	
Buxentum 3/Lu 45		400–300	
Laos 2/Lu 46		c. 330–320	
Laos 3/Lu 63		c. 300	
Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2		c. 150	
Cosilinum 1/Lu 3		c. 300	Before 200
Cosilinum 2/Lu 40		c. 100	
Tegianum 1/Lu 41		100–90	
Numistro 1/Lu 4		300–275	
Numistro 2		c. 200–100	
Potentia 1/Lu 5	125–100	125–100	200–100
Potentia 2/Lu 12	200–100	200–100	
Potentia 3/Lu 8	200–100	200–100	
Potentia 4/ Lu 10	300–200	200–100	
Potentia 5/Lu 11	200–100	200–100	
Potentia 6/ Lu 9	300–200	Either side 200	
Potentia 8/Lu 9	300–200	Either side 200	
Potentia 9/ Lu 6	200–175	200–175	

Dating of inscriptions on orthographic grounds

Table 52: (*cont.*)

Inscription	Lejeune's dating	Crawford <i>et al.</i> (2011) dating	New dating
Potentia 10/Lu 7	200–175	200–175	
Potentia 11/Lu 35	200–100	Either side 200	
Potentia 12/Lu 27		300–200	
Potentia 13/Lu 16	350–300	325–275	325–200
Potentia 14/Lu 34	125–100	125–100	325–200
Potentia 15/ Lu 33	300–200	300–200	
Potentia 16/Lu 32	125–100	Either side 200	
Potentia 17/ Lu 15	300–275	300–200	
Potentia 18		225–200	
Potentia 19/Lu 36	350–300	325–275	325–200
Potentia 20/Lu 28	350–300	325–275	325–200
Potentia 21/Lu 29	325–300	250–200	
Potentia 22/Lu 31	125–100	Either side 200	
Potentia 23/Lu 64		125–100	
Potentia 24/Lu 30	350–325	325–275	
Potentia 25/Lu 21	125–100	Either side 200	
Potentia 26/Lu 20	300–200	325–100	
Potentia 27/Lu 60	350–300	300–200	
Potentia 28/Lu 22	300–200	300–200	
Potentia 30/Lu 57	300–200	300–200	
Potentia 31/ Lu 59	300–200	300–200	
Potentia 32/Lu 17		300–200	
Potentia 36		No date	
Potentia 37		No date	
Potentia 40/Lu 13		250–200	
Potentia 44/tLu 1		<i>c.</i> 225	
Anxia 1/Lu 39		<i>c.</i> 300–250	
Metapontum 1/Lu 37		<i>c.</i> 400–375	
Metapontum 2		<i>c.</i> 300	
Heraclea 2/Lu 61		Before <i>c.</i> 275	

Conclusions

Table 52: (*cont.*)

Inscription	Lejeune's dating	Crawford <i>et al.</i> (2011) dating	New dating
Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47		350–300	
Breig 1		<i>c.</i> 250–200 (?)	
Crimisa 1/Lu 23		300–200	
Crimisa 2/Lu 24		300–200	
Crimisa 3/Lu 44		<i>c.</i> 300–250	
Petelia 2		<i>c.</i> 300	
Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43		Presumably before <i>c.</i> 200	
Caulonia 2		<i>c.</i> 325–300	
Vibo 2/Lu 25		<i>c.</i> 300	Presumably before <i>c.</i> 200 (perhaps 300–275)
Vibo 3/tLu 9		Presumably before <i>c.</i> 200	
Vibo 5/tLu 3–5		Presumably before <i>c.</i> 200	
Vibo 6/tLu 8		Presumably before <i>c.</i> 200	
Vibo 7/tLu 7		<i>c.</i> 300–275	Presumably before <i>c.</i> 200
Vibo 8/tLu 6		Presumably before <i>c.</i> 200	
Vibo 9		Presumably before <i>c.</i> 200	
Tauriani 1/tLu 13		<i>c.</i> 100	
Tauriani 2		<i>c.</i> 200–100	
Messana 1/nMe 1a–b		<i>c.</i> 225	
Messana 2/tMe 1		Perhaps before <i>c.</i> 200	
Messana 4/Me 1 & 3		<i>c.</i> 250	
Messana 5/Me 2		<i>c.</i> 250	

Table 52: (*cont.*)

Inscription	Lejeune's dating	Crawford <i>et al.</i> (2011) dating	New dating
Messana 6/Me 4		<i>c.</i> 275	
Messana 7/Me 5		<i>c.</i> 250	
Messana 8/tMe 2		Perhaps before <i>c.</i> 200	

Phonology

The examination of Oscan written in the Greek alphabet allows certain conclusions to be drawn about Oscan (historical) phonology; in some cases, examination of this corpus provides further evidence for Oscan phonology as a whole, often allowing us to round out a picture which was otherwise obscure when based on only the Oscan- and Latin-alphabet evidence. An example of this is the treatment of sequences of consonant preceding **-i-* (pp. 112–29). The Greek-alphabet evidence confirms that **-i-* caused gemination of preceding /d/, /t/, /k/, /l/, /n/, /r/; frequent absence of <i> where we expect **-i-*, and in one case its position before the consonant originally followed by **-i-*, suggest that **-i-* had been lost, with palatalisation of the preceding consonant. Although <i> for **-i-* is almost always written in the Oscan alphabet, occasional omissions had suggested this possibility, which is now confirmed. Palatalisation, although not gemination, of /s/ probably also occurred. Greek-alphabet evidence also provides support for a rule **-ui-* > [wij] in Oscan. Another case is the variant spellings of /f/ (pp. 98–105): use of <β> suggests that /f/ had a voiced allophone intervocalically, while <θ> may perhaps suggest that this was phonetically a labio-dental fricative [v] rather than bilabial [β]. Use of <ζ> for /s/ (pp. 105–10) provides evidence for a voiced allophone for which a sign was lacking in the Oscan alphabet. We find further evidence for loss of **-n-* before **-s-* and **-t-*, which caused lengthening of the preceding vowel, and presumably nasalisation (pp. 129–33), but may have been a change in progress in the course of our texts.

In other cases, it seems likely that the Oscan of Lucania and Bruttium had developed differently from that of Campania and Samnium, allowing us to identify dialectal variation. An example is the development of **-u-* to [y] after a dental (pp. 74–9), for which there is also evidence in the Latin alphabet in Bantia. This compares with the development to [ju] evidenced by the inscriptions in the Oscan alphabet.¹⁵ A possible example is the development of **dī-* (pp. 110–12), which is normally spelt <δi>, but is once spelt <i> in an inscription from Paestum, and once <ζ> in an inscription from Rossano di Vaglio. It may be that the inscription from Paestum is part of a dialect area including Campania and Samnium (where *di-* becomes *i-*), while <ζ> provides evidence for a Lucanian–Brettian development to /z/ (which is also attested in inscriptions in the Latin alphabet from Bantia). However, this is not the only possible analysis.

A clear case is the ‘desonorisation’ of word-final **-d* (pp. 133–5), for which there is plentiful evidence, and which is not attested at all in the Oscan alphabet. As in all the other cases of dialectalisms so far mentioned, the same development is found in the Latin-alphabet inscriptions from Bantia. However, in one instance this is not the case. The Greek-alphabet inscriptions, unlike the Oscan- or Latin-alphabet inscriptions, show no evidence of raising of **-o-* to [u] before /m/ (pp. 81–2). It seems clear that there was, at least to some extent, a north–south dialect divide in Oscan, with the border being more or less in north Lucania. But not all the isoglosses have the same border: Bantia patterns with Campania–Samnium with regard to raising before final /m/, and Paestum may pattern with Campania–Samnium with regard to the treatment of **dī-* (and perhaps in general: the one inscription from Paestum does not provide conclusive evidence regarding the other dialectal features). Bantia also seems to have a unique feature, in the assibilation of palatalised **-t-* and **-k-*: *ansae*, *bansae*, *bansa*[e] (Bantia I.19, 23, 31/Lu I) ‘at Bantia (loc. sg.)’ <∗*bantiāi*; *meddixud* (Bantia I.13, 21/Lu I) ‘magistracy (abl. sg.)’ <∗*meddikīōd*. However, this may be a later development of the whole Lucania–Bruttium area (and perhaps even of Oscan in

¹⁵ On the further implications of this difference see Zair (2014b).

general): the last example of **-k-* or **-t-* followed by *-i-* in the Greek alphabet is λωφκτιηις (Potentia 23/Lu 64, 125–100), and the Tabula Bantina could be a little later than this.

Morphology

The absence of raising before final /m/ in the Greek-alphabet inscriptions allows us to recognise that spellings of *o*-stem genitive plurals in <ουμ> must represent **-ōm* (pp. 81–3). Since **-ōm* and **-om* fell together in Latin and Umbrian, and the evidence from South Picene is very uncertain, this finally provides conclusive proof of the genitive plural ending of *o*-stems in Proto-Italic (and a method for determining that of consonant-stems when more evidence comes to light). The spelling of the *o*-stem dative singular as <ωι>, and the absence of a spelling <ουι>, confirms the suggestive evidence of the Oscan alphabet that **-ōi* had become **-oi*.

OSCAN WORDS DISCUSSED IN THIS BOOK

Introduction

The alphabetical order used is:

α β γ δ ε Ϝ ζ h η θ ι κ λ
 μ ν ξ ο π ρ σ τ υ φ χ ψ ω
 f

In the following entries, the information is presented as follows:

Oscan forms in paradigm order (e.g. *δουνωμ*)

Inscription (e.g. Potentia 23/Lu 64)

Grammatical information (e.g. acc. sg. n.)

Synchronic phonological representation of each form between slashes
 (e.g. /dunom/)

Translation (e.g. ‘gift’)

Discussion of readings, phonology and etymology.

Where the etymology of a word is discussed in Untermann or elsewhere I give the reference at the end of each entry.

As far as possible, the synchronic phonological representation given here follows the conclusions of [Chapters 2–4](#). Given the evidence available to us, it is, however, not always easy to be sure about the underlying phonology of Oscan. In the case of original **-C_i-* sequences, there were several results: after non-labial consonants, **-i-* was apparently lost, with palatalisation, and in some cases gemination, of the preceding consonant, to give [C^jC^j] or [C^j]; after **-u-* (and other labial consonants?), **-i-* was syllabified to give [wi] (see pp. [112–29](#)). It is difficult to know whether Oscan /j/ was still recognised as the underlying phoneme in this environment, even though it never materialised as [j], or whether a split occurred, with phonemic palatalised consonants developing, and with [wi] being reanalysed as /wi/ rather than /wj/; in the interests of a clearer relationship between the phonological representations

given here and the attested forms, I assume the latter, and write $/(C^j)C^j/$, $/wi/$. In the case of $*-nt-$ and word-internal $*-ns-$ clusters, however, the resulting nasalised vowel (which may not have existed for all speakers) would have been an allophone of $/n/$ before $/t/$, $/s/$ and $/h/$, and is consequently not marked in the phonological representation (see pp. 129–33).

In cases where sound changes may have taken place across the time period of our corpus, or there may have been dialectal variants, I provide all possible representations; so, for example, initial $*d_i-$ written $\langle \delta i \rangle$ could represent $/dj/$, $/dz/$, or $/z/$, while the spelling $\langle \zeta \rangle$ is assumed to represent $/z/$ (see pp. 105–10). It is not clear whether absence of written $*-h-$ is due to a spelling convention, or represents an actual loss of $*-h-$ (see pp. 147–56). Where $\langle h \rangle$ is written, it is assumed to be present as $/h/$, but where it is absent, it is represented as $/(h)/$. Final $*-d$ is always represented as $/d/$, even when spelt with $\langle \tau \rangle$ (see pp. 133–5). For names ending in $\langle i\epsilon s \rangle$, it is not clear whether this represents $/ies/$ or $/i\epsilon s/$ (see pp. 48–9); I consistently write this as $/ies/$, but without prejudice to the alternative possibility.

The minimum of comparative evidence necessary to justify the phonological representation is provided. This may include instances of comparable Oscan forms in other alphabets (all forms are Oscan unless specified otherwise); related forms in other Sabellic languages or Latin; reconstructions. Especially where the form has an entry in Untermann's (2000) etymological dictionary of Sabellic, discussion is as brief as possible. Comparative forms and justification are not usually given for nominal and verbal endings. Information on these can be found in Buck (1928), Wallace (2007), Tikkanen (2011: 25–48). However, it should be noted that the conclusions made regarding *o*-stem and consonant-stem endings in Chapter 2 are followed here. Thus the following endings are assumed:

o-stem and cons.-stem acc. sg. $/om/ < *-om$

o-stem and cons.-stem abl. sg. $/ud/ < *-ōd$

o-stem nom. pl. $/us/ < *-ōs$

o-stem gen. pl. $/um/ < *-ōm$; whether consonant-stem gen. pl. is $/um/ < *-ōm$ or $/om/ < *-om$ is uncertain

Oscan words

αβολιι[ς] (Numistro 2) nom. sg. m. /abollies/ gentilicium

Cf. Lat. *Abullius* gentilicium, e.g. CIL 6.10464

αβολιι[ς] and *Abullius* presumably come from **abon-l-iō-* ← **abon-lo-* ← **abō* (cf. Lat. *Abōnius*).

αφδειες (Potentia 3/Lu 8) nom. sg. m. /aude.ies/ gentilicium

Cf. Lat. *avdiis* (Pompeii 19/Po 8) gentilicium, Lat. *Audeius* gentilicium (Schulze 1904: 130)

On the suffix and ending, see pp. 49–50.

αφελιος (Petelia 2). See **παφελιος**.

αφες (Petelia 2) nom. sg. m. /awes/ praenomen

Cf. Lat. *Aueius* gentilicium (Schulze 1904: 348)

From **aueios*, with loss of **-i-*, raising of **-e-* in hiatus, and final syncope. Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1476) take the name to be an abbreviation for ‘Avesius’, but no such name appears in the indices of Schulze (1904) or Solin and Salomies (1994), and possible derivatives are very thin on the ground (perhaps *Auesidius* CIL 11.4670). The connection with *Aueius* seems much more plausible, especially since no other praenomen is abbreviated in the first three columns of Petelia 2.

αηπει (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) ? /a(:)hpe/ or /a(:)hpe/

Etymology unknown (Gualtieri and Poccetti 2001: 216).

αιζνω (Potentia 1/Lu 5) adj. acc. pl. n. /aesneo/ or /aisneo/ ‘of iron’

Cf. U. *ahesnes* (IT III 18, 19), Lat. *a(h)ēnus*, *a(h)ēneus* ‘of iron’

From **aiesneīā*. Loss of intervocalic **-i-* in Proto-Italic would give **aesneā* > Proto-Sabellic **aesneā* > **aesneā*, with raising of **-ε-* to **-e-* in hiatus. The vowel of the second syllable was preserved in both Latin and the Sabellic languages, which suggests that contraction of **-ae-* to **-ā-* was not a Proto-Italic change, at least when the first vowel was in an initial syllable. According to Weiss (2009: 132), contraction did not take place in Latin when the second vowel was in a closed syllable and hence accented, as in **aēsno-*. In Oscan and Umbrian, we would expect syncope to affect the second vowel of **aesneā*. According to Benediktsson (1960: 262), lack of syncope is due to a failure to affect vowels preceded by a hiatus; it would appear that contraction of **-a-* with a following **-ε-* was restricted to non-initial syllables (cf. Osc. **faamat** e.g. Pompeii 2/Po 34 < **-āīeti*; Nishimura 2009: 170 fn. 24).¹ Particularly interesting, however, is the development of the sequence **ae-* in Oscan. In Latin, **aesn-* gave *aēn-* by loss of **-s-* and concomitant lengthening of the preceding vowel. In

¹ Differently Buck (1928: 54), who, however, only considers **-ae-* sequences in which the first vowel is in the initial syllable.

Umbrian, as far as we can tell, both the hiatus and the original vowel length were maintained.

In Oscan we find original **-e-* written with <ι>. There seem to be two possible explanations for this. The first is that **-e-* was raised to /e/ (or [e]) before (phonetically) voiced **-s-* [z] before **-n-*. A possible parallel for this sort of raising may be found in $\pi\upsilon\sigma\mu\omicron\iota$ ‘to whom’ < **k^w_o-sm-ō̃* in the ‘Pre-Samnite’ inscription Blanda 1/Ps 20, with <υ> rather than expected <ο>. If this raising is the result of lengthening of original **-e-* to **-ē-*,² it must have taken place at least at the earliest Proto-Sabellic stage, because secondary lengthening of **-e-* in Oscan itself seems to have given /ε:/ rather than /e:/, as shown by **estint** (Teruentum 34 B.1/Sa 1) < **en-sta-ē-nti* (Lejeune 1993: 265–9), and we would expect this to be written <ε> rather than <ι>. Since <ε> in Umbrian can reflect /e/ as well as /ε/, such an early lengthening cannot be ruled out.

The other possibility is that the sequence **ae-*, having avoided the earlier contraction to **ā-* that took place in non-initial syllables, lost its syllable boundary and formed a diphthong /ai/. This latter possibility may be argued to be less likely, since **saka(ra)hiter** (Teruentum 34 A.19/Sa 1) and **stahint** (Capua 20/Cp 25) show that sequences of /a.e/ did not become a diphthong. However in **saka(ra)hiter** the /a.e/ comes from **-āē-* and in **stahint** it comes from **-aē-*; it is possible that **-ae-* > **-aē-* formed a diphthong /ai/ while **-āē-* was protected from this by the length of at least the second vowel, which was subsequently lost in non-initial syllables to give /a.e/. It should also be noted that the /a.e/ in **saka(ra)hiter** crosses a morpheme boundary, which is not the case for **ae-* in $\alpha\iota\zeta\nu\iota\omega$. See also the discussion in Lejeune (1971: 674). Untermann (2000: 63–4, 74).

αισ(ωις) (Cosilinum 2/Lu 40) dat. pl. m. /ais/ ‘to the gods’

Oscan alphabet: **aisu{s}is** (Capua 34.7/Cp 37)

Lejeune (1972b: 134–5); Untermann (2000: 68–70).

ακτουδ fut. impv. 3sg. /aktud/ ‘let him/her do’

Latin alphabet: **actud** (Bantia 1.15/Lu 1)

From **age-tōd*. Untermann (2000: 78–9).

αλαφιω (Petelia 2) nom. sg. f. /alafio/ or /alafjo/ gentilicium³

Probably for /alafio/ cf. **alafiis* ($\alpha\lambda\alpha\phi\iota\omicron\mu$ Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43), but *alafis* (Superaequum 4/Pg 2) is also attested in Paelignian as a gentilicium, which would suggest /alafjo/.

αλαφιουμ (Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43) acc. sg. m. /alafiom/ gentilicium

Cf. Lat. *Alfius* (Schulze 1904: 119).

² Vowels tend to have longer duration before voiced fricatives (Davis 2014: 104).

³ See Chapter 1 fn. 9.

[2]+[1] **αναρηι** (Paestum 1/Lu 14) dat. sg. m. /anarei/

αναφακετ (Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 3/Lu 18) 3sg. pres. /anafaket/ ‘he dedicates’

Cf. **αφακειτ** (Potentia 40/Lu 13), **fakiñad** (Capua 24/Cp 33), **fefacust** (Bantia 1/Lu 1).

A common alternative analysis of this form is as a 3sg. perf., either as a reduplicated perfect /anaffakɛd/ < **fe-fak-ed* (cf. *fefacust* Bantia 1.11/Lu 1, *fefacid* Bantia 1.10/Lu 1), or as an aorist /anafaked/ < **fak-ed* (cf. (Palaeo-)Umbrian **face** Caere 1/Um 4, **fakust** IT IV 31), e.g. Untermann (2000: 257); Poccetti (2005: 28–9 = 2006b: 94–5, 2010: 668–9); de Simone (2006: 162–3); Mancini (2009: 74); and the translation in Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1313). But there is no other evidence for a perfect stem **fak-* in Oscan,⁴ and the perfect stem **fe-fak-* only seems to be used in the simplex, with a different stem being used in compounds, as in **αϛ[α]φεδ** (Paestum 1/Lu 14) < **d^he-d^hh₁-et* (and cf. different compounds to the same root such as **prűffed** Herculanum 1/Cm 10, Bouianum 97/Sa 25, **δαφενς** Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1/Lu 26).⁵ Furthermore, **αφακειτ** (Potentia 40/Lu 13), also in a dedicatory context, must be present, as demonstrated by its ending <ειτ> < **-it*. Therefore, analysis as a present seems most likely (as recognised by Lejeune 1970: 291).⁶ Although the verb in dedicatory inscriptions in Oscan, when there is one, is usually in the perfect, a possible example with verb in the present is **dunat** (Teanum Sidicinum 2/Si 3); this is expanded by Crawford *et al.* (2011) to **dunat(ted)** but there is plenty of room on the stone for the extra letters, so **dunat** may be the full verb, not an abbreviation. The present is found in dedicatory contexts in other Italic languages, e.g. Vestinian *didet* ‘gives’ in Incerulae 4/MV 5, and *dat*, *dant* ‘give’ in Republican Latin inscriptions (very frequent, e.g. CIL 1².28, 29, 376, 977, 1508, 1834, 2126). The verb is preceded by two preverbs, **an-* and **ā-* or **ad-*. Untermann (2000: 256–61).

αϛ[α]φεδ (Paestum 1/Lu 14) 3sg. perf. /anaffɛd/ ‘he dedicated’

Cf. **prűffed** (Herculanum 1/Cm 10, Bouianum 97/Sa 25), **aamanaffed** (e.g. Pompeii 8/Po 6).

The verb is an originally reduplicated form **fe-fed* < **d^he-d^hh₁-e-t*. The verb is preceded by two preverbs, **an-* and **ā-* or **ad-*. Untermann (2000: 257).

⁴ The form *facus* in Bantia 1.30/Lu 1 probably is not an old perfect participle (Wallace 1985).

⁵ Poccetti (2010: 668–9) argues that **αϛ[α]φεδ** and **αναφακετ** are calques on Gk. ἀνέθηκε ‘dedicated’. While the use of a compound involving **d^heh₁(k)-* and the creation of the preverb *ανα-* may be due to the influence of this verb, **αϛ[α]φεδ** demonstrates that such calquing did not extend to adopting the *-k-* element of the Greek aorist in the Oscan perfect.

⁶ The use of <τ> to write the final consonant is not an argument for a present meaning: <τ> can write either present **-t* or perfect **-d* in absolute final position (see pp. 133–5).

[α]ππελλουνηις (Messana 7/Me 5) gen. sg. m. /appelluneis/ ‘of Apollo’

αππελλουνηι (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3), αππελλ[ο]υνηι (Messana 5/Me 2) dat. sg. m. /appellunei/ ‘to Apollo’

Oscan alphabet: **appelluneis** (Pompeii 23/Po 14)

From **appellōneis*, **appellōnej*. Untermann (2000: 115–16).

αραδιαν (Laos 2/Lu 46) adj. acc. sg. f. /aradīd'am/ ?

Apparently an adjective modifying the preceding word μεδεκαν ‘magistrate’ (Campanile 1992b: 377). Silvestri’s (in Poccetti 1993b: 138) connection with **arent[īkai]**, **are(n)tiḱ[ai]**, **arentika[i]** (Capua 34 A.1, 12, B/Cp 37) is too speculative. Untermann (2000: 116).

αραξ (Petelia 2) nom. sg. m. /araks/ praenomen (?)

αρριες (Numistro 1/Lu 4) nom. sg. m. /arries/ gentilicium

Cf. Lat. *Arrius* (e.g. CIL 1².1801).

αρροντιες (Potentia 44/tLu 1) nom. sg. m. /arrunties/

Oscan alphabet: **arruntiis** (Pompeii 40/Po 58)

The Oscan alphabet inscription is from c. 225–200 BC, well after the reform, so we can be sure of the vowel in the second syllable. Like Lat. *Arruntianus* (cognomen), derived from Etruscan *Aruns*.

ατφαματτεν[ς] (Cosilinum 1/ Lu 3) 3pl. perf. /adfa:mattens/ ‘they had made’

Cf. **faamated** (e.g. Pompeii 2/Po 34), **famatted** (Aeclanum 4/Hi 1); for the preverb cf. **adpúd** (Capua 24/Cp 33)

From **ad-fāmāttent*. Untermann (2000: 253–4).

αυδα<f>o (Petelia 2) nom. sg. f. /audawo/ gentilicium (see Chapter 1 fn. 9)

This name is a derivative belonging to the cluster of names which includes the gentilicia **avdiis** (Pompeii 19/Po 8), αφδειες (Potentia 3/Lu 8), Lat. *Audius*, *Audeius* (Schulze 1904: 130), *Audaeus* (Aurigemma 1940: 288). It is written αυδαδο, and the <f> is presumably restored by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1476) on the basis that /w/ is a regular filler of hiatus between /a/ and /o/ in Oscan (cf. **trīfbarakavūm** Abella 1/Cm 1 B.2). However, given the existence of the form αυδαις in col. 2 l.1 of this inscription, perhaps we should instead read αυδα<i>o.

αυδαις (Petelia 2) nom. sg. m. /auda.is/ gentilicium

Cf. **αυδα<f>o** (Petelia 2), αφδειες (Potentia 3/Lu 8). This is the *-*io-* derivative of the base **audā-* seen in αυδα<f>o, and hence goes back to **audā-*io*-s* (which should have given **audās*, but with re-creation as /auda.is/, by the same process found in μαραῖς; see p. 148 and under μαραῖς below).

αυτ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62 x 5) conj. /aut/ ‘or’

Oscan alphabet: **avt** (e.g. Capua 22/Cp 31)

Latin alphabet: *aut* (Bantia 1.20/Lu 1)

From **auti*. Untermann (2000: 136–7).

Oscan words discussed in this book

αυτι (Potentia 40/Lu 13) conj. /aute/ ‘or’

From **auti*. Untermann (2000: 136–7).

αφαματεδ (Potentia 9/Lu 6), **αφαμα[τεδ]** (Potentia 10/Lu 7), **αφαματετ** (Potentia 1/Lu 5) 3sg. perf. /a:fa:matted/ or /affa:matted/ ‘he had made’

α[λ]αματομ (Potentia 21/Lu 29) past participle acc. sg. n. /a(:)f(f)a:matom/ or past participle gen. pl. /a(:)f(f)a:matum/ or 1sg. perf. /a(:)f(f)a:mattom/

Cf. **faamated** (e.g. Pompeii 2/Po 34), **famatted** (Aeclanum 4/Hi 1), **aamanaffed** (e.g. Pompeii 8/Po 6); for the preverb **ad-* cf. **adpúd** (Capua 24/Cp 33)

αφαματεδ is from **ā-fāmātted* or **ad-fāmātted*, **α[λ]αματομ** from **ā-/ad-fāmā-to-m* or **ā-/ad-fāmā-tt-om*. Untermann (2000: 253–4).

αφακειτ (Potentia 40/Lu 13) 3sg. pres. /a(:)f(f)aket/ ‘he dedicates’

From **ā-fakit* or **ad-fakit* < **fakje-ti*

Although this form is frequently taken as a perfect (e.g. Poccetti 2010: 668–9; Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1426), it must in fact be present, as is shown by the spelling of the vowel in the final syllable as <ει>, which must represent /e/ < **-i-* (this was recognised by Lejeune 1970: 291 and Rix 1999a: 524, 531–2 fn. 54). For further arguments for a present meaning see **αναφακετ**.

βαντινω (Petelia 2) nom. sg. f. /bantino/ praenomen (see Chapter 1 fn. 9)

From **bantīnā* (cf. *bantins* Bantia 1.19/Lu 1 ‘Bantine’).

βοθρωνι[(ο)ν] (Laos 2/Lu 64) acc. sg. m. /but^(h)runi/ or /bot^(h)runi/ gentilicium

Read **βοφ{+}ονι[v]** by Crawford *et al.* (2011), following the original reading of Pugliese Carratelli (1992), which would be derived from the Oscan equivalent of Latin *būfō* ‘toad’ (Campanile 1992b: 376). But **βοθρωνι[(ο)ν]**, as shown in the drawing, is confirmed by Poccetti’s autopsy (Poccetti 1993b: 156–7). If it is exactly equivalent to the Latin gentilicium *Butrōnius* (CIL 10.8397), **βοθρωνι[(ο)ν]** will represent /butruni/, but the use of <θ> suggests possible (folk-)etymological connections with Gk. βόθρος ‘ditch’, in which case the first vowel may be /o/ (Poccetti 1993b: 168–9).

βρατωμ (Anxia 1/Lu 39) acc. sg. f. /bra:tom/ ‘favour’

βρατης (Paestum 1/Lu 14, Potentia 23/Lu 64), **βρατεις** (Potentia 13/Lu 16),

βρα{1}της (Potentia 17/Lu 15) gen. sg. /bra:teis/

Oscan alphabet: **braateis** (Saepinum 4/Sa 59)

Latin alphabet: *brateis* (Bantia 1.6/Lu 1)

From **g^wr^h-H-t-* (cf. Lat. *grātia*). Untermann (2000: 149–50).

breig (Breig 1) ? /bre(:)g/ or /breig/ ?

The connection with **berg^h-* ‘hill’ by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1466) is impossible: the root is in fact **b^herg^h-* and **-b^h-* gives /f/ and **-g^h-* gives /h/ in Oscan. The required vowel **-ē-* could only be got by positing both *schwebeablaut* and lengthened grade, for which there is no other evidence in other Indo-European languages (IEW 140–1; LIV 78–9; NIL 30–34).

[γ]αϝις (Buxentum 3/Lu 45) nom. sg. m. /ga:wis/ praenomen

γΑϝιν (Laos 2/Lu 46), <γ>αϝιν (Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47) acc. sg. /ga:wim/ praenomen (for the problem of identifying praenomina and gentilicia in Laos 2/Lu 46 see [Chapter 1 fn. 14](#), but γαϝις is only used as a praenomen elsewhere in Oscan)

Oscan alphabet: e.g. **gaavieis** (Aufidena 3) gen. sg.

From **gāũio-*. Cf. Lat. *Gaavia* (AE 1981, 151 [= AE 1984: 39]). Salomies (1987: 103; and see also discussion of Lat. *Gaius* on 28–9).

γΑΥΚΙΕς (Potentia 40/Lu 13) nom. sg. m. /gaukies/ gentilicium

This is probably from **gauikijjios* (Lejeune 1976: 73; Solin and Salomies 1994: 86), a derivative of the praenomen [γ]αϝις (whose Latin equivalent is the gentilicium *Gaius*).

γΑΡ (Potentia 30/Lu 57) nom. sg. m. /gna:r(r)/ praenomen

Cf. Lat. *Narius* (Schulze 1904: 480; Salomies 2008: 22) gentilicium

If γαϝ is not an abbreviation for γαϝις, this must come from **gnāros*. Derivation from **gnāros* > Lat. *gnārus*, *nārus* ‘having knowledge of’ seems plausible: the usual retention of *gn-* in *gnārus* due to analogy with *ignārus* ‘ignorant’ (for which see Leumann 1977: 188) presumably did not apply to the no longer semantically connected name *Nārius*.

γΝΑΥ(ς) (Petelia 2) nom. sg. m. /gna(:)us/ praenomen

This form is treated by Lazzarini (2004: 676) and Salomies (2008: 22)⁷ as belonging with the praenomen **gnaivs** (Cumae 8.4/Cm 14, Caudium 2), Lat. *Gnaeus* (and is translated as ‘Gnaeus’ by Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1476). But it is difficult to see how this would work. The preform of **gnaivs** is **gnaiuos* (Salomies 1987: 30); Lazzarini suggests that after syncope there was loss of intervocalic *-i- to give **gnaius*. But, apart from the fact that *-i- may have been lost at a Proto-Italic stage (Meiser 1986: 38) rather than after syncope in Oscan, it is clear from **gnaivs** that the *-i- was not lost: instead a triphthong developed in [gnaiws]. It is better to see γΝΑΥ(ς) as coming from **gnāuios* (cf. Lat. *gnāuus*, *nāuus* ‘diligent, industrious’).⁸ If the readings γν[αϝ]ις and [γν]αϝ[ις] (Laos 3/Lu 63) of Crawford *et al.* (2011) are correct, these will be the derived praenomen **gnāuijos* (but note the discussion of a possible reading γναι for γν[αϝ]ις at Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1349, and the readings γναιϝ(ς) and [γ]αϝ[ις] in Rix 2002). Given the (possible) existence of γν[αϝ]ις, one might be inclined to take γΝΑΥ(ς) as an abbreviation of this (i.e. representing /gna:wis/ rather than /gna(:)us/), but <υ> is never used for /w/ in a heterosyllabic /ow/ sequence. It is uncertain whether the /a/, which comes from etymological *-ā-, is long or short. Shortening by Osthoff’s law is very common in Indo-European languages, which would

⁷ Salomies wrongly gives the form as γΝΑΥ(ς).

⁸ The same goes for the epigraphically attested *Naus* in a Latin inscription (Salomies 1987: 29).

result in shortening before a sonorant followed by another consonant in **gnāus*; I know of no completely certain evidence for its existence in Oscan but it cannot be ruled out;⁹ on the other hand, even if it did take place, the vowel length in the nominative singular could have been restored after other parts of the paradigm such as acc. sg. **gnāuom*.

δαφενς¹⁰ (Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1/Lu 26) 3pl. perf. /da:ffens/ ‘they offered’ Cf. **prúffed** (Herculaneum 1/Cm 10, Bouianum 97/Sa 25), **aamanaffed** (e.g. Pompeii 8/Po 6); for the preverb cf. **dadid** (Capua 34Cp 37), **dat** (Bantia 1.6/Lu 1)

Although Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1310) compare -φενς to Greek -θηκαν, the comparable forms show that the verb is an originally reduplicated form *-*fe-^hfend* < **d^he-d^hh₁-ent*. The preverb is a variant of the preposition **dāt*. See also αϣ[α]φεδ. Untermann (2000: 155–6, 448–9, 584–5).

δεδετ (Lucania 1/Lu 19), δεδετ (Potentia 26/Lu 20) 3sg. perf. /deded/ or 3sg. pres. /dedet/ ‘gave’ or ‘gives’

Cf. **deded** (e.g. Cumae 4 bis)

Cf. Vest. *didet* (Incerulae 4/MV 5), P. *dida* (Corfinium 6/Pg 9), U. *dirsa* (IT Vb 13)

Either from perfect **de-dh₃-e-t* or present **di-dh₃-e-ti*. Untermann (2000: 175–8).

δειφιν(ο) (Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 2) adj. nom. sg. (f.) /deiwin/ ‘divine’

Oscan alphabet: **deivinais** (Capua 11/Cp 21, Capua 12/Cp 22, Capua 13/Cp 20)

From **deḡiṽnā*. Untermann (2000: 163).

δεκιρες (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) ? /dekires(s)/ or /dekires(s)/ or /dekeres(s)/ or /dekeres(s)/ or /dekires(s)/ or /dekeres(s)/ or /dekires(s)/ or /dekeres(s)/

According to Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 237) this is a 3sg. fut. with final /t/ omitted by accident. Their etymology is very uncertain. It could also be a dat./abl. pl. of an *i*-stem in /ess/ < **-ib^hos*.

διωφιοι (Potentia 40/Lu 13) adj. dat. sg. /djowioi/ or /dzowioi/ or /zowioi/ ‘Jovian’

διωφιας (Potentia 10/Lu 7) adj. gen. sg. f. /djowias/ or /dzowias/ or /zowias/ ‘Jovian’

Oscan alphabet: **diuvia[s]** (Capua 9/Cp 10), **iúviia(m)** (Pompeii 13/Po 1)

From **dḡouiōi*, **dḡouiās*. Untermann (2000: 186–7).

⁹ A probable example is the *o*-stem dat./abl. pl. in -úis, -ois /ois/, which probably comes from the instrumental *-ōis, but could also come from the locative *-oisi (Tikkanen 2011: 34). Apparently vowel length was retained in the 3pl. subjunctive ending *-ēnt > /ens/ (not > *-ent > /ens/) in [f]errins (Abella 1 B.28/Cm 1), patensins (Abella 1 B.24/Cm 1), tribarakat{.}tins (Abella 1 B.22/Cm 1). But this long vowel could also have been restored on the basis of the rest of the paradigm.

¹⁰ Thus Crawford *et al.* (2011). The object has δαφενς, as is clear from the pictures.

διομνα[ς] (Potentia 10/Lu 7) gen. sg. f. /domanas/ ‘of the mistress’

Although the interpretation of this form is not completely clear, the connection with Lat. *domina* seems most plausible, with <διο> for <δο> a mistake due to preceding διοφίας (Lejeune 1990: 32). Untermann (2000: 181–2).

διορις (Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2) nom. pl. m.? /di(:)rⁱrⁱus/ or /di(:)r(r)ius/? gentilicium Cf. Lat. *Dir(r)ius* (e.g. CIL 10.1502) gentilicium

A nom. pl. in *-ōs is much more likely than a Greek nom. sg., as noted by Lejeune (1972a: 6). The latter cannot be completely ruled out, but the only other possible examples of Greek morphology in an otherwise Oscan text are παφελιος and ουσος in the curse tablet Petelia 2 (not in Laos 2/Lu 46, see pp. 21–4. Laos 4 can be seen as a purely Greek inscription which happens to contain Oscan names). In an official inscription like Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2 the Hellenisation of a name seems less likely. Salomies (2008: 21).

διοφης (Potentia 9/Lu 6) gen. sg. /djoweis/ or /dzoweis/ or /zoweis/ ‘of Jove’

διοφει (Vibo 2/Lu 25), **διοφη** (Potentia 12/Lu 27) dat. sg. /djowei/ or /dzowei/ or /zowei/ ‘to Jove’

ζωφη (Potentia 11/Lu 35) dat. sg. /zowei/ ‘to Jove’

ιουφη (Paestum 1/Lu 14) dat. sg. /jowei/ ‘to Jove’

Oscan alphabet: **iúveís** (e.g. Histonium 5/Fr 5), **diúveí** (Teruentum 34 A.11, 12, B.14, 15), **iúveí** (e.g. Cumae 4/Cm 9)

Latin alphabet: *zoveš* (Bantia 2/Lu 38)

From **djouēis*, **djouēi*. Untermann (2000: 182–5).

διοφίας : see **διοφιοι**.

δουνακλωμ (Potentia 25/Lu 21) nom. sg. n. /du:naklom/ ‘offering’

From **dōnātlom*. See **δουνωμ**. Untermann (2000: 194).

δουνωμ (Potentia 23/Lu 64) acc. sg. n. /du:nom/ ‘gift’

Oscan alphabet **dunúm** (e.g. Teruentum 20/Sa 24)

From **dōnom*. Untermann (2000: 190–91).

εδει (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) ? /edei/ or /edei/ or /ede/ or /ede/ ?

The word boundaries in this line are unclear. Crawford *et al.* (2011) read πο|υκελ ει|ειοι ε|δει φειρα[; cf. the many alternative possibilities given by Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 229–31, 261).

eh (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) preposition /eh/ ‘out of’

Latin alphabet: *eh* (Bantia 1 Adamesteanu fragment 7/Lu 1)

From **eġ^h* (Weiss 2002: 355–6) rather than from **ek* with generalisation of the treatment of *-k- before *-t-, and perhaps *-p- (Untermann 2000: 199–200; Gualtieri and Poccetti 2001: 225). I see no reason to suppose that <h> in either the Greek or the Latin alphabet inscriptions is a way of marking length. There is no other example of <h> being used in this manner, and

Oscan words discussed in this book

there is no evidence for **eh-* > **ē-*, since **eestint** (Teruentum 34/Sa 1) ‘they are in place’ can come from **en-sta-ē-nti* rather than **ehstaent* < **ek-sta-ē-nti* (Lejeune 1993: 265–9).

ειρεικ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) co-ordinating or subordinating particle? /eiweik/ or /eiwek/ or /eweik/ or /ewek/.

For this reading see McDonald and Zair (2012 [2013]: 39 fn. 2); Crawford *et al.* (2011) read ειρει.

Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 227–8).

ειζιδουμ. See **εισειδουμ**.

ειηειοι (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) dat. sg. m.? /eihejoi/ or /ehējoi/ or /eiheoi/ or /cheoi/ ‘to ...?’

The word boundaries in this line are unclear. Crawford *et al.* (2011) read πο]υκελ ειηειοι εδει φειρα[; cf. the many alternative possibilities given by Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 229–31, 261).

εινεμ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62), **ειν(ειμ)** (Anxia 1/Lu 39, Potentia 1/Lu 5), **ι(νι)μ** (Petelia 2), **εινειμ** (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3, Messana 5/Me 2) conj. /enem/ ‘and, also’

Oscan alphabet: **ínim** (e.g. Abella 1/Cm 1)

Etymologically identical to Lat. *enim*, with raising of initial vowel due to enclisis or assimilation. Untermann (2000: 343–4).

ειοκ: see **εισεις**.

εισειδουμ (Potentia 5/Lu 11), **ειζιδουμ** (Potentia 1/Lu 5) pronoun nom. sg. m. /esedom/ or /esedum/ ‘the same man’

Oscan alphabet: **ísídum** (e.g. Pompeii 24/Po 3)

From **is-id-ōm*. The form **esídum** (e.g. Teruentum 4/Sa 3) is restricted to Samnium, and is clearly not original; the spelling with <ει> in Lucania shows that the first vowel is /e/. It is not clear whether the final particle is **-ōm* (cf. Gothic *hita* ‘now’ < **kīdōm*) or **-om* (cf. Vedic *tvám* ‘you’ < **tu-om*). On this question see Weiss (1998: 712–13); Dupraz (2012: 252–3, esp. fn. 71). Untermann (2000: 347–8).

εισεις (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) pronoun gen. sg. m. /eiseis/ ‘of this’

Oscan alphabet: **eíseis** (Abella 1 A.20/Cm 1)

Latin alphabet: *eizeis* (Bantia 1.22/Lu 1)

ειοκ × 2 (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) pronoun nom. pl. n. /eok/ ‘these’

Cf. **iiuk** (Capua 15/Cp 8), **íúk** (Abella 1. B 11/Cm 1), *ioc* (Bantia 1.4/Lu 1)

ιαφ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) pronoun acc. pl. f. /eaf/ ‘these’

Cf. U. **eaf** (IT Ib 42), Mc. *iafc* (Teate Marrucinatorum 2.8/MV 1)

ηισου(μ) (Petelia 2, line 3, perhaps also line 2; see **ετ/ηις**) pronoun gen. pl. /eísum/ ‘of these’

Oscan alphabet: **eisunk** (Cumae 8.43/Cm 14), with addition of particle **ke*

Oscan words

ΕΙΣΕΙΣ is from **eīs-eīs*. ΕΙΟΚ and ΙΑΦ are from **eĩā-*, with loss of intervocalic **-i-* and raising of **-e-* > /ɛ/ to /e/ in hiatus (Meiser 1986: 109). As **iiuk** demonstrates, there was a subphonemic glide between /e/ and a following vowel: [eəok], [eəaf]. ΗΙΣΟΥ(Μ) is from **eīs-ōm*. Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1476) read ΗΙΣΟΥ, but in my own autopsy the <ι> was clearly visible.¹¹ Crawford *et al.*'s (2011) analysis as a pronoun is to be preferred to that of Lazzarini (2004: 679, 2009: 428), who sees it as an ablative meaning 'here', since word-final <μ> is occasionally missing in other inscriptions, while final /d/ was extremely stable in Oscan. Untermann (2000: 355–8).

ΕΚΟ (Cosilinum 2/Lu 40) nom. sg. f. or nom. pl. n. /eko/ 'this' or 'these'

Cf. **ekúk** (Surrentum 1/Cm 2) acc. sg. m.

On the analysis of ΕΚΟ see Vetter (1953: 124), Lejeune (1972b: 135) and Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1353). From **ekā*. Untermann (2000: 216–18).

ΕΚΣ (Cosilinum 1/Lu 30) /ekss/ 'thus'

Oscan alphabet: **ekss** (Abella 1.11/Cm 1)

Latin alphabet: *ex* (Bantia 1/Lu 1)

Untermann (2000: 215).

ελ[Ϝ]ομ (Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47) acc. sg. m. /(h)elwom/ praenomen

Cf. Lat. *Heluius* (Schulze 1904: 162) gentilicium

Presumably derived from **ǵ^helh₃-i-uo-* > Lat. *heluius* 'yellow' (itself perhaps borrowed from a Sabellic language; de Vaan 2008: 282). Salomies (2008: 22).

εμαυτο (Petelia 2) nom. sg. f. /εmauto/ praenomen (see Chapter 1 fn. 9)

This is the Greek name Ἐμαύτα (Lazzarini 2004: 676).

ερουκ<ι>η(ι)ς (Crimisa 1/Lu 23) gen. sg. /eruk^kieis/ or /erukieis/ gentilicium

Cf. Lat. *Erūcius* (Schulze 1904: 411 fn.1)

Thus Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1469). The form on the stone is ΕΡΟΥΚΤΗ(Ι)ς, which, though otherwise unattested and less likely, is not impossible. See ΠΑΚΤΗΙς.

εσοτ (Anxia 1/Lu 39) nom./acc. sg. n.? /εs(s)od/? ?

This form is very unclear. Some kind of demonstrative pronoun seems to be implied by the context. This could be a neuter nom./acc. sg. in **-od* (cf. Lat. *hoc* < **hod-ke*, *illud* etc.), but as Dupraz (2012: 63 fn. 2) observes, it cannot agree with following βατωμ 'favour', which is feminine. It could agree with the preceding word, of which only]μ survives, if we take this to be a neuter noun rather than τιο]μ 'you' as reconstructed by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1434). However, all attempts to connect εσοτ with the known demonstrative stems of Sabellic run into problems. The form εσοτ is tentatively collected by Untermann (2000: 216–18) under the demonstrative stem **eko-/ekso-* (see ΕΚΟ), but even if we assume an inscriber's mistake and posit

¹¹ With other members of the 'Greek in Italy' project at the Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Crotone, 16 September 2014.

ε<κ>σot, this cannot be correct, because the nom./acc. sg. n. of this pronoun is **ekík** (e.g. Cuma 2/Cm 4); nor could it be ε<ι>σot to **ej-i/-eis-* (see εισεις), because the nom./acc. sg. n. is **ídk** (Abella 1 A.17, 18/Cm 1).

Two further possibilities arise. One is that this is the neuter pronoun equivalent to <εσ>σouf ‘himself’, from **eps-o-d*.¹² Alternatively, this may be the almost exact equivalent to Lat. *istud* ‘this’, which is otherwise unattested in Oscan. One could assume an inscriber’s mistake and read εσ<τ>oδ (cf. κωσ(τ)τ Potentia 1/Lu 5). Or one could follow Penney (2002), who reconstructs for Umbrian a stem with nom. sg. f. (and presumably m.) **es-so-*, acc. sg. and pl. **es-to-*, and **es-tso-* in all other cases, arguing that this stem is derived by combining **es-* with the autonomous pronominal stem **so-/to-*.¹³ Since the acc. sg. n. of **so-/to-* is **tod* (cf. Gk. τό, Ved. tát; Weiss 2009: 335–9), we would still expect εσ<τ>oδ, but it is possible that the nom. sg. n. **es-tod* was remade to **es-sod* after the model of the nom. sg. m. **es-so*, f. **es-sā*. Since the acc. sg. of neuters is always the same as the nom. sg., this would mean remodelling also of the acc. sg. Whichever of these is correct, a problem arises with the ending -ot: we might expect to find **id* as in the other demonstrative pronouns; this difficulty is particularly acute if we want to read εσ<τ>oδ, since the equivalent in Umbrian is **este** (IT Ia 1) < **estid*, and since we might expect the same ending also in Oscan on the basis of **ekík**. But it is possible that the spread of **id* in neuter pronouns from **k^wid* > **píd** (Abella 1 B.25/Cm 1) and **id* → **ídk** in place of expected **od* took place faster in Umbrian than in Oscan.

Yet another possible analysis of εσot is that it is in fact the abl. sg. m. or n. < **-ōd* to whichever pronoun. This is less likely than the analysis as an acc. sg. n., since there is nothing in the text with which it might agree (although given the absence of the end of the inscription, one might compare the widely separated demonstrative and noun in funerary inscriptions in South Picene such as Vrbis Saluua/MC 2 **ęsmín : apais : pupúnies : uepetín** :). As this long and inconclusive discussion shows, the form is too uncertain to be useful evidence for most purposes, although all possibilities suggest a final /d/.

<εσ>σouf (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) pronoun /essuf/ ‘himself’

Oscan alphabet: **essuf** (Sa 4/Teruentum 8)

Latin alphabet: *esuf* (Bantia 1.19, 21/Lu 1)

From **eps-ōn-s*. Untermann (2000: 235–6).

εστουδ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) fut. impv. /εstud/ ‘let him/her be’

¹² The prehistory of this pronoun is extremely complicated and unclear; for various possibilities see Sihler (1995: 394–5); Meiser (1998: 163–4); de Vaan (2008: 308); Weiss (2009: 346–7).

¹³ Dupraz (2012: 29–111) approaches these forms completely differently, assigning Umbrian forms like *eso* (nom. sg. f.) to a stem **ekso-* and denying the existence of a stem **es-so-* altogether. Which approach is correct remains uncertain (see Zair 2012b and de Melo 2012 for discussions of Dupraz’s views).

Oscan words

Oscan alphabet: **estud** (Abella 1.B 14, 18/Cm 1)

Latin alphabet: *estud* (Bantia 1.12, 23, 26, 30, 38/Lu 1)

From **es-tōd*. Untermann (2000: 245–52).

ετ : see **ετ/ης**.

ετ/ης (Petelia 2). gen. sg. /eteis/ or /et^heis/ or /eteis/ or /et^heis/ praenomen (but see below)

The relevant parts of col.4. l. 1–2 are read by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1475–7) as **ετ / κης**. The first three letters of the second line are now to be read **ης**, which allows for a variety of possible readings, the most likely being either **ετ/ης** (σ)ετ/ης or **ετ/ης** (σ)ετ / ηισου(μ) (McDonald, Tagliapietra and Zair 2015). If **ετ/ης** is to be understood, it allows comparison with the Roman gentilicia *Iteius* (CIL 10.3778, 4185, 4186, Capua) and *Itius* (CIL 6.35502, 11.5757) or *Etius* (CIL 6.17288).¹⁴ If the correct reading is **σετ/ης**, this would be compared with Latin *Settius* (attested as *Settia* CIL 6.10805), *Setius* (CIL 4.1580, 9.629, 14.4104), *Setteius* (CIL 6.25244) or with *Sitius* (Ihm 1899: 99 no. 371), *Sittius* (CIL 8.2567). The best connections are probably with *Iteius*, since it is attested in Republican times in Campania, an Oscan-speaking area, but we cannot be sure (*Setius* is also found in Campania, as is *Sitius*, albeit not until the third century AD). Since we cannot tell whether the vowel in the first syllable of *Etius* and *Settius* etc. is long or short, we do not know whether it would correspond to Oscan /e/ or /ε/. Nor can we tell whether this praenomen was formed with the suffix **-iō-* or not, since in the sequence **-Ci-* the **-i-* was lost, causing gemination and palatalisation of the preceding consonant, and was often not written (see pp. 112–29). For the alternative reading involving **ηισου(μ)**, see **εισεis**. Since there are so many uncertainties in the reading of this inscription, only the sequence <η> is considered certain and included in the discussions elsewhere in this book.

φαλε (Cosilinum 2/Lu 40) 2sg. impv. /wale/ ‘farewell’

Cf. Mc. *uali* (Teate Marrucinatorum 4/MV 6), Lat. *ualeō*

From **ualē*. Untermann (2000: 823).

φαριαν (Laos 2/Lu 46) acc. sg. m. /warjam/ or /wariam/ praenomen or gentilicium

Cf. **variis** (Aufidena 7/tSa 45), Lat. *Vārius* (gentilicium), *Varus* (cognomen)

If a gentilicium, this would be the female counterpart of the male gentilicium **variis**. It is taken by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1346, 1604) to be a praenomen, presumably because of the existence of **φαριε(1)ς** in the same inscription, which they consider a praenomen in the genitive. It is possible that this is the daughter or sister of that **φαρις*, and hence has the same praenomen. But it is not certain that **φαριε(1)ς** is a praenomen anyway (see below), and, given the existence of a gentilicium **variis**, there is no reason why **φαριαν** should not be a gentilicium, as implied by the fact that it is the second of two female

¹⁴ I am grateful to Michael Crawford (p.c.) for pointing out the existence of *Iteius* to me.

Oscan words discussed in this book

names (note that Crawford *et al.* take the following pair as praenomen + gentilicium). φαριος is also attested as a gentilicium with a Greek nom. sg. ending in Laos 3.

Φαρει(ι)ς (Laos 2/Lu 46) gen. sg. m.? /warjeis/? praenomen?

Cf. **variis** (Aufidena 7/tSa 45), Lat. *Vārius* (gentilicium), *Varus* (cognomen)

Thus Crawford *et al.* (2011; following Campanile 1992b: 374 in seeing it as a patronymic in the genitive), but note that the supposed sequence $\varphi\alpha\rho(\nu)\varphi\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota(\varsigma)\varsigma\omicron\psi\iota\omicron\nu$ ‘Varus [*sic*], son of Varus [*sic*], Opsius’ would go against the usual Oscan order of praenomen gentilicium father’s name in gen. sg. (on which see La Regina 2002). It is taken to be a nom. sg. m. gentilicium /waries/ by Poccetti (1993b: 170–73), but note the objections of Silvestri (in Poccetti 1993b: 131–2). Silvestri’s analysis as an acc. pl. is formally impossible (we would expect ${}^x\varphi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$).

From **uarieis*. Schulze (1904: 249); Salomies (2008: 36).

Ἰαφουσ[τ] (Buxentum I/Lu 62) 3sg. fut. perf. or nom. pl. /wa(:)fus(t)/ ?

Etymology unknown. Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 236–9).

ΦΕΖΕΙΣ (Caulonia 2) gen. sg. f. /wenseis/ 'of Venus'

Φενζη (Potentia 22/Lu 31) dat. sg. f. /wensei/

From **uenes-eis*, **uenes-ei*.

Untermann (2000: 837–8), Poccetti (2008).

FE1 (Buxentum I/Lu 62) ? /wei/ or /we/ ?

Γερεκο (Vibo 3/tLu 9) adj. nom. sg. f.? /wɛrɛko(m)/ or /wɛrɛko(m)/ or /wɛrɛku(m)/
or /wɛrɛku(m)/ ‘of the *vereia*’

Cf. **vereiiaí** (e.g. Pompeii 24/Po 3) dat. sg. '*vereia*'

In the absence of a completely certain etymology for **vereiiaf**, it is unclear whether the vowel in the second syllable is /ε/ or /e/. The form is probably nom. sg. f. but it could be nom./acc. pl. n., or, if *-m is missing, nom./acc. sg. n. *-om, or gen. pl. *-ōm. Untermann (2000: 841–2).

Φερσορεῖ (Vibo 2/Lu 25) m. dat. sg. /wersurei/ 'Tropaios'

From **uert-tōr-ei*. Untermann (2000: 844–5).

Ἰβίαν (Laos 2/Lu 46) acc. sg. f. /wi:biām/ or /wi:biām/ praenomen

See $\text{FIB}_1(\varsigma)$.

Ἰβί(ς) (Petelia 2), **[Ἰ]βίς** (Potentia 23/Lu 64), **Ἰβί(ς)** (Cumae 23) nom. sg. /wi:bi:s/
praenomen

Oscan alphabet: **viibis** (Histonium I/Fr I) nom. sg.

Fiβiv (× 3 Laos 2/Lu 46) acc. sg. /wi:βim/ praenomen (On the difficulty of identifying praenomina and gentilicia in Laos 2/Lu 46 see [Chapter 1 fn. 14](#)).

However, FIBIS is only attested as a praenomen in Oscan.)

Salomies (1987: 96–7, 2008: 37).

Ἰνυλνενις (Potentia 23/Lu 64) nom. sg. /wi:nlenis/ or /wi:nlenis/

This name is incorrectly translated by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1402) as *Venulenius*. It belongs instead with names attested in Latin such as *Vinelius*, *Vinileius*, *Vinuleius* (Schulze 1904: 380; Nava and Poccetti 2001: 107–9). A long first vowel is guaranteed by the spelling *Veinuleius* (CIL 1².1409 = CIL 6.28492).¹⁵ The vowel in the second syllable would be syncopated if it were short, and so is probably *-ē- but it is possible that it avoided syncope by analogy from the praenomen **uīnlens*. Consequently, we conclude that *ϕινυλενις* comes from **uīnVlēnjos*.

ϕιρινεις (Surrentum 4/Cm 16) gen. sg. m. /wi:rineis/ or /werineis/ praenomen

This name probably belongs with the Latin gentilicium attested as *᾽Ουερινίου* (IG 10, 2.127) = *Vīrinus* (that <ει> represents /i:/ here is shown by Σ[ε]ρουιλιανοῦ = *Seruilianī*), perhaps belonging to the same family as *virrieis* (e.g. Capua 28/Cp 27). If so, the first vowel is /i:/, and the name goes back to **uīr(r)Vno*-. However, it could also be exactly cognate with the Latin cognomen *Vērīnus* (derived from **uēros* > Lat. *uērus* ‘true’; Kajanto 1965: 254). Crawford *et al.* (2011: 855) translate ‘Virnius’, comparing the name *Virnio* (dat. sg.) which appears at Pompeii (CIL 4.5712). This looks like either the Latinised form of the Oscan name, or a mistake or abbreviation of **Virinius*.

ϕολλοηωμ (Anxia 1/Lu 39) acc. sg. n. (?) /wollohom/ or /wullohohm/ or /wulluhohm/ or /wolluhohm/ ?

Meaning and etymology unclear, but if it agrees with preceding *πωτ*, it is an acc. sg. n. *o*-stem

For a very speculative analysis see Del Tutto Palma (1990: 31).

ϕουρουστ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) 3sg. fut. perf. /wourust/ ‘(s)he will have found’

From **mour-ō-s-t*. See McDonald and Zair (2012 [2013]), Zair (2014a).

ζωφηι : see *διωφηις*.

hafειτουδ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) 3sg. fut. impv. /hafetud/ ‘let him have’

Cf. *hafie{fi}st* (Bantia 1.8/Lu 1)

Cf. U. *habitu* (e.g. IT VIa 19), Lat. *habeō*

From **g^hab^h-ē-tōd*. A preform **g^hab-je-tōd* > **g^hab^hitōd* is not possible, because this would have become **haftūd* by syncope (cf. *factud* Bantia 1.9/Lu 1 < **fakitōd* < **fak-je-tōd*). It is usually assumed that *hafie{fi}st* reflects a *je/o*-present of the same root; however, the alternative emendation *haf{fi}eist* also seems possible, which would allow us to analyse this form as an *ē*-stem. Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 232), Untermann (2000: 315–16).

ηερεκλεις (Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia 1/Lu 26) gen. sg. /herekleis/ ‘of Hercules’

ηερεκλωι (Potentia 22/Lu 64) dat. sg. /herekloi/ ‘to Hercules’

¹⁵ The use of *I-longa* in forms like *vinuleia* (Ihm 1899: 140 no. 557) does not guarantee a long vowel, because it is sometimes found for short vowels (Flobert 1990; Adams 2013: 105–6).

Oscan words discussed in this book

Oscan alphabet **herekleís** (Abella 1 A. 11, 24, B.4, 6/Cm 1), **hereklúi** (Teruentum 34 A.13, B.16/Sa 1)

From Etr. *hercle* or Gk. Ἡρακλῆς. Untermann (2000: 318–19).

<h>ερεστ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) 3sg. fut. /(h)erest/ ‘(s)he will want’

Latin alphabet: *herest* (Bantia 1.12, 18, 24, 26/Lu 1)

Crawford *et al.* (2011) read κερεστ, but I consider that the <κ> belongs to the previous word. See McDonald and Zair (2012 [2013]: 39 fn. 2).

(h)εριης (Crimisa 2/Lu 24) gen. sg. /(h)er(r)ieis/ gentilicium? (see Salomies 2008: 22 fn. 7)

Oscan alphabet: **heriieis** (Cumae 8.42/Cm 14)

Cf. Lat. *Herius* gentilicium (Schulze 1904: 82), which also appears as *Herrius* (Schulze 1904: 424), so the Oscan name could have geminate /rr/. Salomies (1987: 72–3, 2008: 22).

ηρις (Buxentum 3/Lu 45) nom. sg. /her(r)is/ praenomen¹⁶

Cf. **heriieis** (Cumae 8.42/Cm 14) gen. sg. gentilicium, Lat. *Herius* gentilicium (Schulze 1904: 82), which also appears as *Herrius* (Schulze 1904: 424), so the Oscan name could have geminate /rr/.

Salomies (1987: 72–3, 2008: 22).

ηριενς (Potentia 1/Lu 5) nom. sg. m. /herⁱrⁱenns/ praenomen

ηρι(ε)νης (Potentia 1/Lu 5) gen. sg. m. /herⁱrⁱ/

Oscan alphabet: **heirens** (Campania or Samnium 6/ZO 1)

From **her-iendos* (Meiser 1993). Salomies (2008: 22).

ηδ<α>ς (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) nom. or acc. pl. f. /hi(:)das/ or /he(:)das/ ?

Unknown etymology (Gualtieri and Poccetti 2001: 232–3).

<h>ιπειδ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) 3sg. perf. subj. /(h)e:ped/ ‘he should have’

Latin alphabet: *hipid* (Bantia 1.8/Lu 1)

From **g^hēp-ē-d*. Untermann (2000: 315–16).

<h>οριουμ (Crimisa 3/Lu 44) acc. sg. m. /(h)oriom/ gentilicium

Cf. Lat. *Horius*

¹⁶ According to Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1335) ηρις is a cognomen, taking the line as beginning with υ[ρις] ‘Ouius’, a reconstruction which is extremely unlikely, since there is no other certain case of <υ> for /o/. Rix (2002: 130, 140), who does not print the <υ>, considers it a praenomen, as does Poccetti in Gualtieri and Poccetti (1990: 147), though printing the <υ> in the text given at Gualtieri and Poccetti (1990: 143). All the other names on the subsequent lines of this curse tablet begin in a column somewhat further to the right than the <υ>, so it is possible that the <υ> in fact somehow belongs with the unconnected Greek inscription which is written to the left of the list of names. The corresponding gentilicium **heriis*** to praenomen ηρις may be attested in the gen. sg. **heriieis** (Cumae 8.42/Cm 14; thus Rix 2002 and the first publication in von Planta 1893: 437; Crawford *et al.* (2011) have **heriieis**, which I take to be a mistake) if this is not a misspelling for **heriieis** (see pp. 49–50).

Oscan words

That the first vowel is short is suggested by Latin *Hōrātius* (Juv. 7.62), which presumably belongs in this family of names. Schulze (1904: 356).

<h>ορτιης (Vibo 8/Lu 6) gen. sg. m. /(h)ort^hēis/ or /(h)ortieis/ gentilicium
Cf. Lat. *Hortia* gentilicium (CIL 5.916).

ιης (Crimisa 2/Lu 24) gen. sg. /eis/
A genitive singular in *-e_his.

ηισου(μ) : see εισεις.

ησου : see εισεις.

ιαf : see εισεις.

ι|ι|εδειστ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) 3sg. fut. /edest/ or /edest/
This must be the future of an ē-stem. Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 260).

ι|ι|ιης (Potentia 36) gen. sg. /jeis/ or /ieis/

ιμες (Crimisa 3/Lu 44) nom. sg. m. /e(:)mes/ or /i(:)mes/ gentilicium
There is no comparandum for this name elsewhere in the Sabellic languages or Latin, but it is clearly formed with the suffix *-e_hio- (see p. 49).

ι(νι)μ : see εινεμ.

ιιομ (Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47) acc. sg. m. /iom/ gentilicium?

Taken as a praenomen by Crawford *et al.* (2011), but only gentilicia end in /iom/ in Oscan. However, it is difficult to take this name as a gentilicium, since it is the first name of three, unless each name is the name of a separate individual, the first called by his gentilicium and the last by his praenomen (the middle, μαισιμ, could be a praenomen or gentilicium), which is perhaps not implausible (Poccetti 1988: 128, 1993a: 228), and more likely than the two other possibilities: that it is a gen. pl. (the order of names militates against this) or that it may be the Greek acc. sg. ending (no other names in this inscription have Greek endings). If Crawford *et al.*'s (2011) reading is in fact not correct (Poccetti 1993a reads ιομ), this could be the acc. sg. of a praenomen.

ιουφηι : see δωφης.

ιουφετουδ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) 3sg. fut. impv. /joufetud/ or /jufetud/ 'let him order'
Cf. Lat. *iubeō*, OLat. *iubeatis* 2pl. pres. subj. (SC de Bacchanalibus, CIL 1².581)

From **iud^h-eje-tōd* (or, less likely **iud^h-eje-tōd*, with the same generalisation of the zero grade as in Classical Latin). Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 250–51); de Vaan (2008: 312).

καφνοτο (Petelia 2) nom. sg. /kaunoto/ or /kaunuto/ praenomen (see Chapter 1 fn. 9).

καλιας (Anxia 1/Lu 39) 2sg. pres. subj. /ka(:)has/ 'you should take (?)'

Oscan alphabet 3sg. **kahad**

From **kag^h-ā-s*. Untermann (2000: 362).

κα{αι}δ<ι>ω (Petelia 2) nom. sg. /kaid^jd^jo/ gentilicium

Cf. Lat. *Caedius* gentilicium (e.g. CIL 10.487)

This is the reading of Poccetti (2014: 97), which I prefer to Crawford's κα{ι}<δ>ι<κ>ω, since it requires less emendation.

καιδικis (Petelia 2) nom. sg. /kaidekis/ gentilicium

καιδικω (Petelia 2) nom. sg. /kaidek^jk^jo/ gentilicium (see Chapter 1 fn. 9)

Cf. *caedcies* (Italia 2/Lu 56) gentilicium

Cf. Lat. *Caedicius* praenomen (short vowel on the basis of Virg. *Aen.* 9.362, 10.747), *Caedicius* gentilicium (Juv. 13.197, 16.46), *Caedicianus* cognomen

The feminine gentilicium must come from **kaidikīā*, since the male equivalent is καιδικis; the Latin pattern of praenomen and gentilicium also suggests this. The short *-i- > /e/ in the second syllable is demonstrated by the Latin forms and by the syncope in the gentilicium *caedcies*. In καιδικis, which we would expect to be syncopated, it was generalised from forms like the gen. sg. **kaidikīēs*.

καλινis (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3) nom. sg. m. /kalenis/ or /kalinis/ gentilicium

Both *Calinius* (CIL 6.2379b), and *Calenius* (e.g. CIL 3.1762) are attested in Latin; for neither name does there seem to be evidence by way of spelling or apex for the length of the second vowel, so *-ē-, -i- > /e/ and *-ī- > /i/ are all possible for Oscan. Schulze (1904: 138, 526).

καμμσανας (Metapontum 1/Lu 37) adj. gen. sg. f. /kammsanas/ (?) 'of Capsa (?)'

The reading is not completely certain: καμπσανας is also possible. See the discussion in Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1451–2).

καπιδιτωμ (Anxia 1/Lu 39) acc. sg. n. (?) /ka(:)p(p)id(d)itom/ or /ka(:)p(p)ed(d)-itom/ or /ka(:)p(p)id(d)etom/ or /ka(:)p(p)ed(d)etom/?

Meaning and etymology unclear, but if it agrees with preceding πωτ, it is an acc. sg. n. *o*-stem.

For a very speculative analysis see Del Tutto Palma (1990: 31).

καποροιννα[ι] (Potentia 16/Lu 32) dat. sg. f. /kapurun^jn^jai/ divine epithet

This epithet is generally agreed to be connected with the word for 'goat' **kapros* > Lat. *caper*, perhaps also to be compared with Lat. *Caprōtīna*, an epithet of Juno (on which see Luschi 2006). Although Lejeune (in Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971: 56–7) reconstructs **kaproniā*, this is only because he thinks that <o> can only reflect /o/. A more plausible reconstruction is **kaprōnīā*, as in the Latin gentilicium *Caprōnius*. U. *abrof* (IT 7a.3), *abrons* (IT 7a.43) (acc. pl.) 'boars', which are a parallel for derivation of an animal-name from an original *o*-stem with *-ōn- (cf. Lat. *aper* 'boar'), do not provide evidence for a short variant of the suffix *-on- being generalised in

Oscan words

Sabellic, because *-ō-/*-u- > -ũ- was lowered to -ō- in Umbrian before a nasal (Meiser 1986: 120–21). Untermann (2000: 369).

καρις (Petelia 2) nom. sg. m. /ka:ris/ or /k^haris/ praenomen

Oscan alphabet: **kari(s)** (Cumae 12/Cm 21)

Probably the same name as Lat. *Carius* (gentilicium); if *Caaro* (AE 1991: 657 [= AE 1994: 171]) is a praenomen rather than an adjective, it points to the long vowel which is expected if this name is derived from Lat. *cārus* ‘dear’. However, the name may also be (or be assimilated to) the Gk. name Χάρις, Χάρις (Poccetti 1984: 46, 1988: 132).

κενσορτατη (Potentia 1/Lu 5) loc. sg. f. /kənsurtatei/ ‘in the censorship’

From **kənsōritāteĭ*. A mistake for κενσ<τ>ορ{τ}ατη is possible (Marchese 1974: 414–15), but not certain (see Table 2 note d). Untermann (2000: 384–5).

κερεστ : see <h>ερεστ.

κερρινομ (Crimisa 3/Lu 44) acc. sg. m. /kərrinom/ praenomen

Cf. Lat. *Cerrinus* (cognomen), *Cerrĭnius* (gentilicium, Mart. 8.18.1)

The Latin gentilicium shows a long vowel in the second syllable. The Oscan evidence is less clear: Bouianum 83/tSa 30 is read **keri(ns)** by Crawford *et al.* (2011) rather than the **keri(ns)** of Rix (2002), which would seem to agree with the Latin evidence, if the reconstructed ending is correct (note that <i> is used in the other word of this inscription). But Bouianum 119/tSa 27 = 29 has **keri(neis)**. I think it is safer to connect κερρινομ with *Cerrĭnius*, and explain **keri** as belonging to another name. Salomies (1987: 100, 2008: 23).

κραιστορ (Potentia 9/Lu 6, Potentia 10/Lu 7), κϛ[ϛ]ιστορ (Potentia 4/Lu 10) nom. sg. m. /kwaistur/ ‘quaestor’

Oscan alphabet: **kwaistur** (e.g. Pompeii 24/Po 3)

Borrowed from Latin *quaestor*. Untermann (2000: 423–4).

κιομοι (Potentia 21/Lu 29) dat. sg. m. /k^homoi/ or /k^humoi/ ?

Of uncertain meaning, but must be a dat. sg. m. Untermann (2000: 395–6).

ικηις (Potentia 31/Lu 59) gen. sg. /keis/

κης : see ετ/ηις.

κλαφδης (Messana 6/Me 4) nom. sg. m. /klaudis/ gentilicium

Cf. Lat. gentilicium *Claudius*

κιοφατς (Potentia 40/Lu 13) nom. sg. m. /klowats/ praenomen

κιοφατηις (Potentia 40/Lu 13) gen. sg. /klowateis/

Oscan alphabet: **kluv[az]** (Cumae 8/Cm 14)

Cf. **klú[vatiis]** (Abella 4) gentilicium

Oscan words discussed in this book

Cf. Κλοφάτωι in a Greek inscription (CIG 8493), Lat. gentilicium *Clouatius* (e.g. CIL 6.33308/9). Salomies (1987: 101).

<κ>λοπουστ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) fut. perf. 3sg. /klopust/ ‘(s)he will have stolen’
From **klopōst*. See Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 222), McDonald and Zair (2012 [2013]: 36 fn. 3). For the future perfect suffix see Zair (2014a).

]κονομ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) acc. sg. m. or n.? /konom/ or /kunom/ or /konum/ or /kunum/ ?

Although there is no completely certain example of <ο> for /u/ in this inscription, the context does not allow us to know whether this is an acc. sg. or a gen. pl.

κοττειης (Vibo 5/tLu 3) gen. sg. /kotteis/ or /kottejis/ gentilicium

Cf. Lat. *Cottius* (Schulze 1904: 423)

This name is either formed with the *-*ejo*- suffix, or belongs to the same class of gentilicium whose nominative is seen in αρδειες. On these suffixes see pp. 49–50.

κω[ρο] (Anxia 1/Lu 39) ? /ko/ ?

Taken by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1434) to correspond to *kūru* (Saepinum 2/Sa 31) ‘something made of stone’, but this is uncertain. However, <ω> always represents /o/. Untermann (2000: 420–21).

κωσσανω (Petelia 2) nom. sg. f. /kossano/ gentilicium (see Chapter 1 fn. 9)

Cf. Lat. *Cosanus* cognomen (Kajanto 1965: 50, 189). From the place name Κόσσα (Lazzarini 2004: 678).

κωσ(τ)ιτ (Potentia 1/Lu 5) 3pl. pres. /konstent/ ‘they cost’

Cf. *eestint* (Teruentum 34.B 1/Sa 1)

From **kom-sta-ē-nti*. Lines 4–7 of this inscription read σεγονω. αιζηνω. πεγο(μ) / <ο>πσανω. εινημ. σταβαλανο / σενατεις. (τ)ανγινωτ. αφαματετ / ειζιδομ. πρωφατεδ. κωσ(τ)ιτ, which Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1365) translate as ‘(Herennus Pomponius) by decree of the senate, had bronze statues of the kings (Jupiter and Mefitis) made and fixed in place (?); the same person passed the work as completed; it cost ...’. But there is no word for ‘the work’ in the text; σεγονω ought to be seen as the object of πρωφατεδ as well as αφαματετ, and therefore also as the subject of κωσ(τ)ιτ (Lejeune 1971: 677). Untermann (2000: 421).

λανφτης (Picentia 3/Cm 31) gen. sg. m. /la:nwieis/ praenomen (or gentilicium?)

Cf. the Latin gentilicia *Lanuuius* (e.g. CIL 6.21083), *Laniuius* (e.g. *Laniuias* CIL 6.20188), and the place name *Lānuuium*.

λεικειτ (Anxia 1/Lu 39) 3sg. pres. /leket/ ‘it is permitted’

Cf. Lat. *licet*

From **lik-ē-ti*. Untermann (2000: 428–9).

λιο{κα}κειτ (Anxia 1/Lu 39) 3sg. pres. /lioket/ or /liuket/ or /leoket/ or /leuket/ or 3sg. perf. subj. /lioked/ or /liuked/ or /leoked/ or /leuked/

Etymology unclear, but must be a 3sg. present of an **-ē-* or **-eje-* stem, or a perfect subjunctive in **-ē-*. Untermann (2000: 436).

λοῦκῖς (Laos 3/Lu 63), **λωρκῖς** (Potentia 9/Lu 6, Potentia 10/Lu 7) nom. sg. m. /loukis/ praenomen

λωρκ(ι)ς (Potentia 1/Lu 5) gen. sg. m. /louk/

Oscan alphabet: **lúvkis** (e.g. Abellinum 1/Hi 3)

From **loukjos*, **loukieis*. Salomies (1987: 34, 2008: 24).

λοικ(ις) (Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47) nom. sg. m. /loik/ praenomen

λοικιν (Laos 2/Lu 46) acc. sg. m. /loikim/ praenomen (on the difficulty of identifying praenomina and gentilicia in Laos 2/Lu 46 see Chapter 1 fn. 14. However, Marrucian *loisies* in Teate Marrucinorum 6/MV 8, Teate Marrucinorum 7/MV 9 may reflect the gentilicium in *-ies* to the same root with palatalisation of preceding **-k-*, in which case the *-is* form ought to be the praenomen).

λοικες (Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47) gen. sg.? /loik^hk^heis/? praenomen?

Rix (2002: 141) considers **λοικες** a nom. sg. praenomen. If this were correct, since we never find praenomina in /is/ written <ες>, we would have to suppose the existence of a praenomen **loikejos* > **loikeos* (loss of **-i-*) > **loikeos* (raising of **-e-* to **-ē-* in hiatus; see Meiser 1986: 109) > /loikes/. We could also take this to be a nom. sg. gentilicium **λοικ<ι>ες**. However, as the third name in the series **μινῖς βιρινδῖς λοικες**, it seems more likely to be a cognomen (to be ruled out at 350–300 BC, according to Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1462) or a gen. sg. praenomen, as supposed by Poccetti (1993a: 225–7) and Crawford *et al.* (2011). One could suppose that it is the gen. sg. of a name **loiks*, but this is unlikely if **λοικιν** is indeed a praenomen. Poccetti sees the name as the gen. sg. of **λοικ(ις)**, which we would expect to be /loik^hk^heis/. He considers the final <ες> to be due to monophthongisation of **-ei-* (see Chapter 2 fn. 18), with loss of **-i-* after a consonant. But the drawing shows a break in the lead after the <κ>, so it may be that there was a <ι> here which has been lost. According to Poccetti (1993a: 227, 1993b: 166), this name is the same as **λωρκῖς**, with *i*-umlaut, in which case it comes from **loukjo-* > **loikjo-* (he compares the spelling **lúvikis**, beside **lúvkis** in Capua 33/Cp 36).¹⁷ Even if this is not the case (and a connection to **λωρκῖς** is doubted by Salomies 2008: 24), we must start from **loikjo-*, since neither **luik-* nor **lōik-* is plausible for phonotactic reasons.

λουκανομ (Lucani 1/nLu 1) gen. pl. m. /loukanum/ ‘of the Lucani’

The first syllable contains a diphthong /ou/ rather than /u/, on the basis of **lúvkanateís** (Pallanum 1/Fr 2) gen. sg. ‘Lucanate’, which implies a place name **loukānom* (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1254). More evidence for the diphthong may come from Old Latin *loucanam* (CIL 1².6.7; third century,

¹⁷ Although, since the author of this inscription seems to have a penchant for using the gentilicial suffix <iis> in praenomina (cf. **úppiis** and **statiis** in the same inscription), it is possible that **lúvikis** could instead be a mistake for ***lúvkiis** (a certain carelessness is suggested by the mistakenly placed word divider in **úh { } tavis**).

though see Clackson and Horrocks 2011: 139–42 for problems of dating) > Classical Latin *Lūcanam*, but the change **-ou-* > *-ū-* had already taken place (cf. *Lucius* in the same inscription), so the use of <ou> could be hypercorrect (Meiser 1998: 49). The Greek form *λυκιανων* (Lucani 1), found on coins with a wolf-head, involves a false etymology with Greek *λύκος* ‘wolf’ (Cappelletti 2005). In literary sources, we find *Λευκανοί*, which may point to the original diphthong, with accommodation to Greek phonotactics (and perhaps folk-etymology with *λευκός* ‘white’).

λωρκίς : see **λορκίς**.

λωρκίτης (Potentia 23/Lu 64) gen. sg. m. /loukt^hēis/ praenomen

From **louketiēs*. For the root see **λορκίς** above. For the suffix see **πακτής** below. Salomies (2008: 24).

μαίς (Numistro 1/Lu 4, Crimisa 3/Lu 44) nom. sg. m. /mais/ praenomen

Oscan alphabet: **maís** (Abella 2/Cm 8)

μαίμ (Crimisa 3/Lu 44) acc. sg. m. /maim/

μαίης (Vibo 6/tLu 8), **μαί[-?]-ης** (Crimisa 2/Lu 24)¹⁸ gen. sg. m. /majjeis/

Oscan alphabet: **maíieis** (Teruentum 8/Sa 4)

From **mag-īos*, **mag-īom*, **mag-īeīs*. In the nominative and accusative singular, the resulting **maiīs*, **maiīm* seem to have simplified to give a diphthong (as demonstrated by **maís** Abella 2/Cm 8). Salomies (1987: 75, 2008: 24).

μαμερεξ (Buxentum 3/Lu 45), [μ]αμερεξ (Messana 6/Me 4) nom. sg. m. /mamereks/ praenomen

μαμερεκης (Messana 6/Me 4) gen. sg. m. /mamerekeis/ praenomen

From **mamerkos*, **mamerkejs*. Salomies (2008: 24–5).

μαμερτει (Potentia 19/Lu 36) dat. sg. m. /mamertei/ ‘to Mars’

From **mamertej*. Untermann (2000: 446).

μαμερτινο (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3), **μαμερτινο** (Messana 5/Me 2) nom. sg. f. /mamertino/ ‘Mamertine’

From **mamertīnā*. Untermann (2000: 447).

μαμερτινουμ (Messana 1/nMe 1a–b, Messana 2/tMe 1) gen. pl. m. /mamertinum/ ‘of the Mamertines’

¹⁸ The reading **μαί[-?]-ης**, given by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1471), is fairly uncertain. The stone is friable and heavily worn from l.3 onwards. There may well be letters at the start of l.4 which are now worn away; I and the other members of the ‘Greek in Italy’ project, who examined the inscription at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Reggio Calabria on 19 September 2014, saw the final line as **μ[]ης**, with a *vacat* of about three letters. I do not have an explanation for the resulting **καγκμαί** at the end of l.3, except to observe that, although the <α> looks clear in the photograph provided by Crawford *et al.*, we thought it looked more like **καγγμη**. However, it must be stressed that the writing is extremely difficult to read at this point – perhaps more so now than earlier.

Oscan words

From **mamertīnōm*. Untermann (2000: 447).

μαμερττοι (Potentia 20/Lu 28),¹⁹ **μα]μερτοι** (Potentia 18) dat. sg. m. /mamerttⁱoi/ ‘of Mars’

Cf. **mamerttiais** (e.g. Capua 26/Cp 29) dat. pl. f.

From **mamertioi*. Untermann (2000: 447–8).

μανο[υμ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) acc. sg. /manu/ ‘hand’

Cf. *manim* (Bantia 1.24/Lu 1), Lat. *manus*, -ūs

From **manum*; for the reading and interpretation see Zair (2014b: 117).

μαραειν (× 2 Laos 2/Lu 46) acc. sg. m. /maraem/ praenomen? For the general problem of identifying praenomina and gentilicia in Laos 2/Lu 46 see Chapter 1 fn. 14. It is taken to be a praenomen by Poccetti (1993b: 170) and Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1345–6); the first instance is taken to be a praenomen, the second a gentilicium by Silvestri (in Poccetti 1993b: 127, 128). The identification as praenomen or gentilicium rests on the understanding of the layout of the inscription, not on the morphology of the name itself. The name is formed with the **-eio-* suffix, which can give either praenomina or gentilicia (for these suffixes see pp. 49–50). If it were formed with the gentilicial suffix /-ies/ that we see in **αφδειες** (Potentia 3/Lu 8), we would expect the accusative singular to be /-iom/ (probably written **μαραειον**), since gentilicia ending in <ies> have accusative singulars ending in <iom> (e.g. <h>**οριομ** Crimisa 3/Lu 44). Poccetti (1985: 238, 1993b: 169–70), Salomies (1987: 77–8, 2008: 24–5).

μαραhis (Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2) nom. sg. m. /mara.is/ praenomen

Derived from the praenomen **μαρας**.

μαρας (Potentia 13/Lu 16, Tauriani 2, Messana 4/Me 1 & 2), **μαρ[α]ς** (Messana 5/Me 2), **μαρα(ς)** (Petelia 2) nom. sg. m. /maras/ praenomen

From **marā-ios* (Poccetti 1985; Nishimura 2009).

μ]αχερηι (Anxia 1/Lu 39) dat. or loc. sg. /a(:)k^herei/ or /a(:)k^herei/?

Meaning and etymology unclear, but must be a dat. sg. or loc. sg. in **-ei*. For previous discussions see Del Tutto Palma (1990: 29).

με]δδες, με]δδε[ς (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) nom. sg. m. /meddes/ ‘magistrate’

μεδδες (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) nom. sg. m. /meddes/ or nom. pl. m. /meddes/

μεδεκον (× 3 Laos 2/Lu 46) acc. sg. m. /meddekom/

μεδδειξ (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3), **με[δδεις** (Messana 5/Me 2) nom. pl. m. /meddeks/

Oscan alphabet: **meddiss** (e.g. Herculaneum 1/Cm 10), Latin alphabet: *meddis* (Bantia 1.8, 12, 18, 29, Adamesteanu fragment 4/Lu 1)

From **med-(es)-dik-s*, **med-(es)-dik-om*, **med-(es)-dik-es*. The analysis of **μεδδες** as a nominative plural < **med(es)-dik-es* is possible because it seems

¹⁹ On this reading see Del Tutto Palma (1991: 185–6).

Oscan words discussed in this book

that secondary **-ks-* became **-ss-*, although perhaps too late for Buxentum 1/Lu 62: **meddīss** (Nola 3/Cm 6, 150–90 BC). The cluster is maintained in **medd[i]ks** (Surrentum 1/Cm 2, 200–100 BC), μεδδειξ (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3, c. 250 BC). Untermann (2000: 456–9).

μεδδικεν (Numistro 1/Lu 4) loc. sg. with postposition ‘in’ /meddek^lk'en/ ‘in the magistracy’

Cf. *medicim* acc. sg. (Bantia 1.30, 33/Lu 1)

From **med-(es)-dik-iej-en* with loss of the intervocalic **-j-* and contraction of identical vowels. Untermann (2000: 460–61).

μεδικα[τεν] (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) loc. sg. with postposition ‘in’ /meddeka/ ‘(in the) magistracy’

From **med-(es)-dik-ā-*.

μεδεκαν (Laos 2/Lu 46) acc. sg. f. /meddekam/ ‘magistrate’

From **med-(es)-dik-ā*. Untermann (2000: 459).

μεδικιαι (Metapontum 1/Lu 37) loc. sg. /meddek^lk'ai/ ‘magistracy’

Oscan alphabet: **meddikiai** (Cp 28)

From **med-(es)-dik-īā*. Untermann (2000: 455–6).

μειαι (Anxia 1/Lu 39) possessive pronoun dat. sg. f. /meai/

Cf. (Palaeo-)Umbrian **mīom** (Caere 1/Um 4) ‘me (acc. sg.)’, U. *mehe* (IT VIa 5) ‘me (dat. sg.)’

From **meiāi*, with loss of intervocalic **-j-* and raising of **-e-* /ε/ > /e/ in hiatus (Meiser 1986: 109).

Untermann (2000: 479–80, 468).

μειν [(Buxentum 1/Lu 62) ? /mein/ or /men/ ?

μεταποντινας (Metapontum 1/Lu 37) adj. gen. sg. f. /metapontinas/ ‘Metapontine’

μετσεδ (Potentia 40/Lu 13) adv. /metsed/ ?

Usually taken as coming from **medestēd*. Untermann (2000: 475–6).

μεφιτανοι (Potentia 19/Lu 36, Potentia 20/Lu 28), μεφι[τανοι (Potentia 21/Lu 29) dat. sg. m. /mefitanoi/ ‘pertaining to Mefitis’

From **mefitānōi*. See μεφιτηι. Untermann (2000: 465–6).

μεφιτηι (Potentia 14/Lu 34,²⁰ Potentia 15/Lu 33, Potentia 17/Lu 15), μεφιτηι (Potentia 16/Lu 32), μεφιτει (Potentia 13/Lu 16) dat. sg. /mefitei/ ‘to Mefitis’

Oscan alphabet: **mefitei** (Abellinum 1/Hi 3)

From **mefitei*. Untermann (2000: 467).

μεφιτι (Potentia 22/Lu 31). ? /mef/ ?

²⁰ Thus Crawford *et al.* (2011). On the stone we have μεβιτηι.

Printed thus by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1399), the last three letters, which are now lost, being based on Vetter's (1953: 119) autopsy. Crawford *et al.* (2011) suggest instead a restoration μεφιτη[ι] or μεφ[ιταναι].

μινας (× 2), μ[ι]νας (Petelia 2) nom. sg. /mi:nass/ praenomen

Oscan alphabet: **minaz** (Cumae 8/Cm 14) nom. sg. praenomen, **miinat(eis)** (Teanum Apulum 2/Fr 11) gen. sg. praenomen

From **minātos*. See fn. 21. Salomies (1987: 79, 2008: 26–7).

μινα<τ>ο (× 2 Petelia 2) nom. sg. f. /mi:nato/ praenomen²¹ (see Chapter 1 fn. 9)

Cf. nom. sg. **minaz** (Cumae 8/Cm 14), gen. sg. **miinat(eis)** (Teanum Apulum 2/Fr 11)

Presumably from **minātā*. See μινας.

μινις (Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47) nom. sg. /mi:nis/ praenomen

μινιης (Paestum 2) gen. sg. /mi:nīēis/ praenomen

Oscan alphabet: **miinieis** (Capua 38/Cp 2) gen. sg. praenomen. Salomies (1987: 79, 2008: 27).

μωνωμ (Potentia 6/Lu 9) acc. sg. m. or n. /monom/ ?

νανονις (Potentia 9/Lu 6, Potentia 10/Lu 7) nom. sg. /nanunis/ gentilicium

Cf. Lat. *Nanonius* (e.g. CIL 10.318)

From **nanōnijos*.

νειπ, νε[ι]π (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) neg. conj. /neip/ or /nep/ 'not'

Oscan alphabet: **neip** (Capua 34.5, 6/Cp 37), **nip** (Capua 34.7, 8/Cp 37)

Latin alphabet: *neip* (Bantia 1.15/Lu 1)

²¹ Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1475) comment of this inscription that 'the engraver seems to have had a penchant for mis-inscribing delta'. In fact, in the transcription Crawford *et al.* (2011) seem to identify two problems involving <δ>. The first is writing delta for another symbol: τρεδω αυδαδο (col. 2. 1.5) for τρε<β>ω αυδα<φ>ο. The second is writing another symbol for delta: μινακο (col. 3. 1.3) for μινα<δ>ο. But, assuming that μινα<δ>ο is the feminine form of **minaz**, we ought to have μινα<τ>ο both here and in col. 2 1.4, where we find μιναδο. There seem to be three possibilities. The first is that the spelling μιναδο (and indirectly μινακο) shows a voicing of intervocalic /t/. But intervocalic /t/ is quite frequent in this inscription, and is always spelt with <τ> everywhere else: καφνοτο στατιο (col. 1. 1.1), στατιες (col. 1 1.3, 4, col. 2 1.1, 2), εμαυτο στατιο (col. 2 1.3). And there is no evidence for voicing of intervocalic /t/ in other inscriptions. The second possibility is that μινακο (col. 3. 1.3) is the correct spelling of the name, with μιναδο (col. 2 1.4) showing delta for <κ>. In principle the masc. nom. sg. μινας (col. 2 1.6, col. 4 1.2) from which the feminine name is derived could go back to **mināks* rather than **mināts*, and a gentilicium *Minacius* is attested in CIL 5.4716 (better reading at Dexheimer 1998: 150–51, no. 201). But Oscan inscriptions (in the Oscan alphabet) show clearly only a stem **mināt-*. The third possibility is therefore the most likely, that both μιναδο (col. 2 1.4) and μινακο (col. 3. 1.3) are mis-writings of μινα<τ>ο, even though the other examples show only <δ> being used as the substitute or substituted letter in the spelling game seen here (which is presumably connected to the fact that this inscription is a curse tablet).

Like Latin, Oscan has negative particles **ne*, **neĭ* and **nē*; the first two are definitely attested with the addition of **-k^we*: **nep** (e.g. Abella 1 B.20, 21/Cm 1), **neip**. Crawford *et al.* (2011) read **n(e)ip** for **nip** in Capua 34/Cp 37, but even if this is correct it is reasonable to assume that **nē-k^we* could also exist. The form without **-k^we* is attested as *ni* (e.g. Anagnia 13/He 2). Untermann (2000: 489–90, 495), de Vaan (2008: 403, 404, 408).

νετεις (Potentia 24/Lu 30) dat./abl. pl. /ne(:)t(t)efs/ or /net(t)efs/ or /nent(t)efs/
Clearly a dat./abl. pl. from **-ib^hos*. The etymology is uncertain. Untermann (2000: 494).

νιυμσδιης (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3, Messana 5/Me 2) gen. sg. m. /njumsⁱdⁱdⁱeis/
praenomen

νιυ{ν{π}ψηδ[ις (Potentia 26/Lu 20). This is the reading of Crawford *et al.* (2011). However, the example of the name from Messana shows syncope of the medial vowel. If the identification of the name by Crawford *et al.* (2011) in this very broken and apparently botched context is correct, it may be that instead we should assume a genitive here, which would be expected to be written **νιυμσδιης**, and the misplacing of the <η> should be added to the mistakes represented by the use of <ν> for <μ> and use of both <π> and <ψ>. I would read instead **νυ{ν{π}ψ{η}δ[ι<η>ις**. For **νυ**] rather than **νιυ**] see pp. 74–9 and 137–9.

From **numVsVdieis*, a derivative of **νιυμψις**. Salomies (1987: 41).

νοφιο (Petelia 2) nom. sg. f. /nowio/ praenomen. See Chapter 1 fn. 9.

Cf. **núvis** (Teruentum 43)

Salomies (1987: 80–81, 2008: 28).

νομψις (Thurii Copia 1/Lu 47) nom. sg. /numsis/ praenomen

νυμψιμ (Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43), **νοψιν** (× 3) (Laos 2/Lu 46)²² acc. sg. /numsim/

Oscan alphabet: **[n]jumsis**, **niumsieis** (Nola 3/Cm 6), **niumsis** (Cumae 8/Cm 14.2), **niu(msis)** (Abellinum 9)

The Oscan evidence suggests this name comes from **numVsio-*: the vowel of the first syllable is written <u> in Nola 3/Cm 6, which uses <ú> for /o/. **[n]jú(mseis)** (Cumae 4/Cm 9) does not seem certain enough. The development of a glide after a dental only occurs before /u/ < **-u-*. It is possible to imagine rounding/raising of **-o-* to /u/ between nasals (or between a nasal and /m/), but there is no other evidence for such a rule. Original **-u-* is found in Old Latin *Numasioi* on the Fibula Praenestina (CIL 1².3); although it has

²² Two of the cases of **νοψιν** in Laos 2/Lu 46 are preceded by words ending in /m/ which is not written (side A lines 2, 5); since /m/ in this text is spelt <ν>, both forms could instead be read as **οψιν** (if this inscription is not written in columns, as claimed by Poccetti 1993b). Against such a reading is the fact that no praenomen **οψις** is certainly attested (although it would be a possible praenomen, as observed by Silvestri in Poccetti 1993b: 130; a gentilicium **upsis** is attested; see under **οψις**).

Oscan words

often been suggested that this is fake, it now seems likely – perhaps proven – that it is genuine (Hartmann 2005: 67–106; Maras 2012). In later Latin, the first vowel in *Numerius* could be due to raising of **-o-* before **-m-*,²³ but the only reason to suppose **nomesio-* is the desire for an etymological connection with *numerus* ‘number’ < **nom-es-o-*; there is no good attested evidence for **-o-* in the first syllable (Salomies 1987: 39–41, 2008: 28; Wachter 1987: 64–5; de Simone 2006: 170–72).²⁴

νοψ(ι)α(ν) (Laos 2/Lu 46) acc. sg. f. /numʃam/ praenomen
Derived from νομφις.

νυ[μψδαναι] (Potentia 20/Lu 28) /nu/ divine epithet
See νυμψδοι.

νυμψδοι, νυμψδοι (Potentia 20/Lu 28) /numsdoi/ divine name
Cf. Latin *Numisius Martius* (e.g. *Numisio* CIL 1².32)
Presumably from **numVsVd-ōi*. Untermann (2000: 502).

οφι(ς) Laos 3/Lu 63 nom. sg. m. /owis/ praenomen
οφι(ν) Laos 2/Lu 46 acc. sg. m. /owim/ praenomen? (for the difficulty of identifying praenomina and gentilicia in Laos 2/Lu 46 see Chapter 1 fn. 14;
οφις is found as both a praenomen and a gentilicium, the latter in Frentani 1/Fr 6)
Oscan alphabet: e.g. **úvis** (Nuceria Alfaterna 5/Cm 35)
From **ouios*, **ouiom*. Salomies (1987: 82–3, 2008: 30).

οιναι (Potentia 20/Lu 28) dat. sg. f. /oinai/ theonym
Etymology uncertain; perhaps derived from **ojno-* ‘one’ > Lat. *ūnus*. The vowel /o/ rather than /u/ is certain, since **ōiC-* is phonotactically improbable. Untermann (2000: 789–90).

οκει+ (Potentia 37) ? /okei/ or /ukei/ or /oke/ or /uke/

οκ(ι)ηις (Potentia 17/Lu 15) gen. sg. m. /okⁱkⁱeis/ praenomen
Cf. Lat. *Occius*, gentilicium, perhaps also praenomen.
Salomies (1987: 81).

οπιες (Cosilinum 2/Lu 40) nom. sg. /oppies/ gentilicium
Cf. **úppiis** praenomen (e.g. Capua 33/Cp 36)
Found spelt *Oppio* (dat. sg.) in Latin and Ὀππιου (gen. sg.) in Greek inscriptions (Salomies 1987: 82, 2008: 29).

²³ The Fibula Praenestina (dated to the seventh century BC by Hartmann 2005: 433) is probably too early for this change, which took place after the borrowing of the loanword *Numidae* (a nomadic people of North Africa) from Greek Νομάδες. According to Meiser (1998: 61), this raising took place at the same time as the raising before [ŋ], which can be dated to the third or even second century BC (Weiss 2009: 139). But it is not certain that the two are connected.

²⁴ It is hard to explain the frequent spelling of the name as Νεμέριος in Greek inscriptions (Salomies 1987: 40 fn. 70).

oppis (Cumae 17) nom. sg. praenomen /oppis/

Cf. **úp(i)s** (Teruentum 28), **úp(is)** (Bouianum 106.14)

See **oppies**.

<o>πσανω (Potentia 1/Lu 5) nom. pl. n. gerundive /opsanno/ ‘which are to be built’

Oscan alphabet: **úpsannúm** (e.g. Teruentum 12/Sa 13) acc. sg. m.

This form is represented by Crawford *et al.* (2011) as (ω)πσανω, with the comment ‘ω perhaps elided in dictation with o at the end of the previous line’. Since <o> can be used for /o/ in this inscription, it is more likely that the lack of the first letter is haplography due to the fact ρεγο(μ) ends the previous line (Marchese 1974: 412). Consequently I prefer to read <o>πσανω over (ω)πσανω. From **opesāndā*. On the origin of the gerundive in Italic see Meiser (1993), Jasanoff (2006 [2010]). Untermann (2000: 801–3), Rix (1993).

optories (Laos 3/Lu 63) nom. sg. m. /(h)orturies/ gentilicium

Cf. Lat. *Hortōrius* (CIL 10.6268). The long vowel in the second syllable is guaranteed by derivation of names in *-*tōrjos* from agent nouns in *-*tōr* (Schulze 1904: 332–3 and cf. e.g. *Sertōrius* Luc. 2.549, *Laetōrius* Mart. 12.29.13).

louδ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) /ud/

An abl. sg. of an *o*- or consonant-stem, or a 3sg. fut. impv.

ouπιδ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) 3sg. perf. subj. /u(:)ped/ or /ouped/

Uncertain etymology, but clearly a 3sg. perf. subj. from context. A hole in the bronze follows and partially obscures the <π>. A plausible restoration would be ouπ[σ]ιδ /u:psed/ (cf. **uupsens** Pompeii 13.10/Po 1), but, as implied by the reading of Crawford *et al.* (2011), it does not look as though there is room for a <σ>. We could instead assume that <σ> had been omitted by accident: there are a number of other mistakes in this inscription. Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 234–6), Untermann (2000: 801–3).

louς (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) /us/

Probably a nom. pl. of an *o*-stem, although could be π]ους (see πους).

ouσος (Petelia 2). nom. pl. m. ? /ousus/ or /u(:)sus/ ?

Understood by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1476–7) as a Latin name *Usus*, but no such name exists, and there is no other evidence for Latin in this inscription (see Chapter 1 fn. 10 and see ετ/ης). There are several possible readings of the line of the tablet containing this word (McDonald, Tagliapietra and Zair 2015); if ouσος is correct, it is probably the Oscan equivalent of the Latin gentilicium *Ussius* in the nominative plural, but a Greek nom. sg. cannot be completely ruled out.

louστ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) 3sg. fut. perf. /ust/

Oscan words

ουτιαναι (Potentia 17/Lu 15), ου]τιαναι (Potentia 18) adj. dat. sg. f. /ut^tianai/ or /out^tianai/ divine epithet

This epithet is attested as *utiana** in the Latin inscriptions CIL 10.131, 132, 133 and RV-32 (Lejeune 1990: 18), but we cannot tell on the basis of the Oscan or Latin evidence whether the first vowel is /ou/ or /u/. On the meaning of the epithet see Lejeune (1990: 36–7) and Crawford *et al.* (2011: 54, 55).

ουψε (Teaunum Sidicinum 25) 3sg. perf. /u:psɛ(d)/ ‘he made’

ουπσενς (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3) 3pl. perf. /u:psɛns/ ‘they built’

Oscan alphabet: **upsed** (Campania or Samnium 6/ZO 1, Bouianum 107/Sa 33), **uupsens** (Pompeii 13/Po 1)

From **ōpsɛt*, **ōpsɛnt* (Rix 1993). Unless ουψε is an abbreviation for ουψε(δ), it may show interference from the Greek 3sg. imperfect/aorist ending -ε. Untermann (2000: 801–803).

οψ(ις)²⁵ (Heraclea 2/Lu 61) nom. sg. m. /ops/ gentilicium

οψιον (× 2 Laos 2/Lu 46) acc. sg. m. /opsiɔm/ gentilicium²⁶

Oscan alphabet: **upsiis** (Phistelia 1), **úpsiúí** (Venafrum 1/Si 2)

Cf. Lat. *Opsius* (Schulze 1904: 335, 522 fn. 7).

Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1457; following Poccetti 1980: 78–9) read Heraclea 2/Lu 61 as ν οψ(ις) ‘N. Opsius’, but the single praenomen νοψ(ις) (cf. νοψιν in Laos 2/Lu 46) seems just as likely.

ιοφ (Potentia 32/Lu 17) /uf/

Cf. **úíttiuf** (Abella 1 B.14/Cm 1)

Almost certainly an abstract in /juf/ < *-iōns.

παφελιος (Petelia 2) nom. pl. m. ? /pawil^lius/ or /pawillius/ ? gentilicium

Cf. Lat. *Pauillius* (e.g. CIL 10.2829–2833)

A nom. pl. in *-ōs is more likely than a Greek nom. sg., but the latter cannot be completely ruled out. Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1476) read π(?) αφελιος, but, although *Auelius* does exist as a Latin name, so does *Pauillius* (see McDonald, Tagliapietra and Zair 2015).

πακφηις (Cosilinum 2/ Lu 40) gen. sg. /pa:kkweis/ or /pa:kkwieis/ praenomen

Translated by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1357) as *Paquius*; if this is correct, we should expect πακφ<ι>ηις, with the <ι> having been omitted by accident by the writer of the inscription or by Mandelli, who made the copy that is all that remains of the inscription, or because it had been lost in the sequence *-uī-. For the unlikelihood of the latter see pp. 125–9. Although not otherwise attested, a praenomen /pakus/ < **pakuos* beside its derivative /pakwis/ (see πακ<φ>η<ι>ς) is not impossible (cf. μαρὰς Potentia 13/Lu 16 beside μαρὰις Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2). For the length of the initial syllable, cf. the Latin gentilicium *Pācuuius* (length guaranteed by Horace, *Epistles* 2.1.56).

²⁵ In fact the correct expansion would be οψ(ις). ²⁶ See pp. 21–2.

Oscan words discussed in this book

Salomies (1987: 83–4, 2008: 31). For gemination of stops caused by following /w/ cf. **dekkviarīm** (Pompeii 13/Po 1; Buck 1928: 99).

πακ<φ>η<ι>ς (Crimisa 1/Lu 23). See **πακτηης**.

πακφιω (Petelia 2) nom. sg. f. /pa:kkwio/ praenomen (see Chapter 1 fn. 9)

Cf. Latin *Pācuuius* gentilicium

Salomies (1987: 83–4, 2008: 31).

πακίς (Buxentum 3/Lu 45), <π>ακι(ς) (Laos 3/Lu 63) nom. sg. /pa:k(k)is/ praenomen

Oscan alphabet: e.g. **pakis** (Frentani 2)

For the length of the initial vowel, cf. the Latin gentilicium *Pācius* (*Paaci* gen.

sg. CIL 10.8058.64) and its derivative *Pācilus* (*Pacili* gen. sg. CIL

1².1438 = 14.2488). This name is frequently attested with double *-kk-*, e.g.

Lat. *Paccius* (CIL 1².2087 = 11.1845), Gk. Πακκίος (Miranda 1990–1995:

2.86 no. 168). We cannot tell whether πακίς represents a form with /k/ or /kk/.

Salomies (1987: 83, 2008: 30).

πακολ (Petelia 2) nom. sg. /pa:kol/ or /pa:koll/ praenomen

Oscan alphabet: **paakūl** (Nola 2/Cm 7)

Cf. **pakulliis** (Cumae 8/Cm 14) gentilicium

Whether the final /l/ is single or double is unclear. A geminate is found in **pakulliis**, gen. sg. Πακύλλου (IG 14.894) in a Greek inscription, and the spelling *Paculla* (Livy 39.13.9, beside *Pacula* Livy 26.33.8). An argument for single /l/ is that, according to Buck (1928: 78), words ending in **-llVs* > **-lls* have nominative singulars ending in /ls/ versus **-lVs* > **-ls* > /l/. His evidence consists of **upfals** (Capua 38/Cp 2, Capua 40/Cp3), which definitely has **-llos*, since the gen. sg. is **upfalleis** (Cumae 8.37/Cm 14), and **upils** (Cumae 15/Cm 33). However, **upils** is more likely to have single than double /l/. Of the Oscan evidence, **[up]jilliunis** (Herculaneum 3/Cm 42) could have geminate /ll/ caused by the following **-i-*. Crawford *et al.* (2011) translate **upils**, **up(i)l** as ‘Opillus’ (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 519, 996), which is not attested inscriptionally in Latin (Schulze 1904: 462 fn. 4). The usual spelling of the Latin gentilicium derived from this name is with one *-l-* (e.g. *Opilia* CIL 1².212, 2465, 6.23499, *Opiliai* CIL 1².3072, *Opilius* CIL 3.1330, 6.32521, Merlin 1944: 87 no. 479).²⁷ Consequently, we might instead think about a diachronic change of word-final /(l)ls/ > /(l)l/ instead of a difference between **-llVs* and **-lVs*. Again, **upils** (320–300 BC) may provide evidence for such a change, since it also appears as **úp(i)l** (Bouianum 8/tSa 12, 125–100 BC, Bouianum 71/Sa 53, no date). But both

²⁷ Double *-ll-* is found only in a handful of cases in Belgica and Aquitania, where *Opillus* (Whatmough 1970: 337), *Opilli* (Delmaire 1994: 279, 299; Provost and Mennessier-Jouanet 1994: 235) is probably a Celtic name (Delamarre 2003: 170); *Opillio* (CIL 11.6700.50) is presumably a nom. sg. of the cognomen *Opilio*, itself usually spelt with a single *-l-*.

instances of **úp(i)l** are clearly abbreviations, so could just have missed off a final <s>. Even so, the data does not prevent positing such a sound change, since both instances of **upfals** are dated to around 300 BC, which is also the *terminus ante quem* for the earliest examples of **-l** in **famelos* > **f(a)m(e)l** and **mitelos* > **mit(e)l** (both Campania or Samnium 5/Sa 32, before 300). All other cases of **-IVs* > /l/ are later.²⁸

If this change is correct, **πακολ** can come from **pakollos*, and represents /pa:koll/. But without further evidence regarding **-lIVs* sequences, it is possible that Buck is correct, and it represents /pa:kol/. In that case, the geminate of **pakulliis**, Πακύλλου and *Paculla* must either be due to ‘expressive gemination’ or these names must actually be from a derivative of this name such as **pākol-no-* > **pakollo-* or **pākol-elo-* > **pakollo-*. Salomies (1987: 84–5).

πακτηις, πακτηι<ι>ς (Crimisa 1/Lu 23) gen. sg. /pa(:)kteis/ or /pa(:)kt^hēis/ praenomen

This is the reading on the stone.²⁹ The two forms are corrected to **πακ<f>ηις** and **πακ<f>η<ι>ς** by La Regina (2002: 65–7), and to **πακ<f><ι>ηις** and **πακ<f>η<ι>ς** by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1468–9). The only reason that I see to change <τ> to <f> here is the fact that these names are otherwise unattested in Oscan, but we have both *Pacatius* and *Pacutianus* in Latin (Schulze 1904: 204, 252 fn. 5), which suggest derivatives in *-t-* to this root are plausible (the Latin words probably have long vowels in the second syllable, so are not precisely identical to the Oscan names, which must have had a short vowel in the second syllable, since the vowel is lost by syncope, which did not affect long vowels). Furthermore, the formation of a name /paktis/ would be parallel to the names /louktis/ (Λωφκτηις Potentia 23/Lu 64) and Δουκέτιος, the name of a Sicilian leader. These are ‘speaking’ names: ‘who lights’, ‘who leads’ (Poccetti 2009: 234–9), formed from an Indo-European root (**leuk-*, **deuk-*) plus a suffix **-etjo-*. The name /paktis/ would fit into this pattern perfectly; the root is **peh₂ǵ-* ‘be fast’ or **peh₂ǵ-* ‘make fast’ (cf. Lat. *pangō*, *pacīscor*; LIV 461–2), and should be in the full grade if the parallel with **leuk-etjo-* and **deuk-etjo-* is precise: hence **peh₂ǵ-etjo-* ‘fastener, joiner’ > **pāketiōs* > /pa:ktis/. If this is correct, the gen. sg. should be **pāketiēis* > **pāktīēis* > /pa:kt^hēis/. But a name **pākvīos* > /pa(:)kts/ beside **πακίς** (e.g. Buxentum 3/Lu 45) may also have existed; cf. *Orfitus* beside *Orfius* (although Latinised, these are clearly of Sabellic origin; Schulze 1904: 221, 293, 364). This form **πακτηις** would then be the expected gen. sg. from **pāketiēis*.

I fail to understand La Regina’s argument that the supposedly mistaken use of <τ> in the names in this inscription is due to it being written by a Greek

²⁸ **lúkidel** (Saepinum 10/Hi 7, 150–90), **aídíl** (Pompeii 18/Po 11, no date, but after 300), **aídíl** (Pompeii 16/Po 16, 225–200), **kaíl** (Histonium 1/Fr 1, 200–100), **aukíl** (Herculaneum 1/Cm 10, 150–90), **mutíl** (Italia 1/nPg 2, 3a, 4a, 4b, 5, 90–89).

²⁹ Autopsy by me and the other members of the ‘Greek in Italy’ project, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Reggio Calabria, 19 September 2014.

scribe; conceivably, this could be the case for <τ> for <φ>, if <φ> was unknown to the scribe (though note that this inscription is dated 300–200 BC, and digamma was still in use to write Greek in Lucania at least in the late-fourth-century inscription IG 14.645), but this could hardly explain the use of <τ> for <ι> in the name ερουκτη<ι>ς in l.3 of the inscription, which he, and Crawford *et al.*, correct to ερουκ<ι>η<ι>ς. If there is a mistake at all, it seems to me most likely to be in ερουκτη<ι>ς, which is directly below πακτη<ι>ς in l.2–3. The use of <τ> for <ι> could then be caused by the inscriber beginning to copy the line above; this absent-mindedness may also explain the lack of the second <ι>, since the preceding line breaks after the <η>. The missing <ι> in the gen. sg. ending in πακτη<ι>ς in l.4 could be due to the damage to the stone at just this point, although we did not see any evidence for <ι>, and it would have to be very close to the preceding <η>; alternatively, the scribe could have transposed correct <η> to <ι> by accident.³⁰

παντου[δ] (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) adj. abl. sg. /pantud/ ‘by how much’

From *k^want-ōd.

Untermann (2000: 512), Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 244).

πειηδ (Potentia 40/Lu 13) adv. /pe:ed/ ‘piously’

Cf. P. *pes* (Corfinium 11/Pg 10) nom. sg. m., *peo[i]s* (Sulmo 13/Pg 11) dat. pl. m., Mc. *pei* or *pioi* (Teate Marrucinorum 2/MV 1) dat. sg. m. ‘pious’, U. *pihaner* (e.g. IT VIa 19), *pehaner* (IT VIa 20), *peihaner* (IT VIa 8) gen. sg. gerundive ‘to be propitiated’

Cf. Osc. **pihiúí** (Teruentum 34 B.17/Sa 1) dat. sg. m., Volscian *pihom* (Velitrae 1/VM 2) nom. sg. n., Lat. *píus* ‘pious’

The explanation for these forms is a notorious crux in Sabellic historical phonology because of the problems of the first syllable. The majority of forms (Osc. *πειηδ*, Mc. *pei* or *pioi* and the Umbrian forms) are consistent with an original *-i-, *-ē- or *-e- in the first vowel (because *-ē- was raised to *-e- in hiatus; Meiser 1986: 109).³¹ Volscian *pihom* could go back to *-ī- or *-i- (Rix 1992: 42), as could Latin *píus*: long *-ī- in the first syllable would be regularly shortened before another vowel in the history of Latin, although it is doubtful whether it is actually attested metrically in early poetry (Weiss 2009: 126). However, Osc. **pihiúí** is most straightforwardly understood as reflecting definite evidence for *-ī-, while P. *pes* can only reflect *-ē- or

³⁰ In the photograph given by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1468), the <τ> of πακτη<ι>ς looks as though it has been corrected to a <φ>. La Regina (2002: 66) comments ‘[a]lcuni segni occasionali hanno fatto pensare a correzioni antiche, e in particolare al τ in φ, ma ciò appare improbabile’. I agree, since there are several strokes of exactly the same size and shape on the stone which are clearly caused by damage rather than being intentional (e.g. above the <κ> in line 4), and those of the <τ> are in line with a diagonal damaged section coming downwards from top right in l.2 to bottom left in l.4.

³¹ Bader (1978: 151) is wrong in thinking it possible that the spelling variants can reflect /i:/ < *-ī-.

*-e- (Jiménez Zamudio 1986: 121–3). As it stands, therefore, there is no single form which can directly give all the evidence; increasing understanding of the orthography of the ‘minor’ dialects has made this more evident in recent decades.

Lejeune (1970: 292, 1990: 61–2; Adamesteanu and Lejeune 1971: 62) compares $\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\delta$ and $\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (Potentia 24/Lu 30) with the Latin forms *piēns*, *piēntissimus*, found only epigraphically from imperial times, and which he clearly takes to reflect a root **pi-*. The Latin forms have often been supposed to be created analogically on the model of *benēuolēns*, *benēuolēntissimus* (Leumann 1977: 499; Heidermanns in Untermann 2000: 525), but Lejeune argues that $\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ is the precise Oscan equivalent of *piēns*, which must, therefore, be old. As already noted, such a root cannot explain either Osc. **pihihiu** or P. *pes*. Furthermore, Lat. *pīus* is usually explained as coming from ^(*)*pīus* < **pū-īo-* by Thurneysen’s law, also known as the ‘*pīus* Gesetz’ (cf. *pūrus* ‘pure’; thus e.g. de Vaan 2008: 468, although with some reservations about the precise workings of the law).

Bader’s (1978: 149–52) account of these forms is rather confusing. Assuming that the words belong with the root **peh₂(i)-* ‘protect’, she first seems to argue that they all reflect **pī-*, which cannot be correct, as demonstrated above. She then goes on to suggest that they reflect two forms, one a thematic adjective **pī-o-*, the other a **īo-*-derivative **pi-īo-*. In fact, these reconstructions should be reversed, since in laryngeal terms **pih₂-o-* would give **pi(i)o-* regularly, while **pih₂-īo-* ought to give **pīīo-*; however, the effect is the same, and in fact such a picture would give most of the actually attested forms except Paelignian *pes*. Having to posit two different adjectival formations from the same root for these forms is, however, somewhat awkward. And of course such an etymology would preclude the otherwise attractive connection with *pūrus*.

Starting from **pīīo-* < **pū-īo-* for all the forms, Meiser (1986: 48–9) posits a lowering of **-ī-* > **-ē-* before a back vowel, but this is not a particularly satisfying solution. While it is true that in all the Umbrian forms, and Mc. *peoi* (if this, and not *pioi*, is the correct reading), /e:/ appears before a back vowel, this is not the case in Oscan, where the pattern is in fact the opposite: apparently /i:/ before a back vowel in **pihihiu**, and /e:/ before front vowels in $\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\delta$ and $\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, which is usually also attributed to this ‘root’ (see below). Furthermore, Volscian *pihom*, which is before a back vowel, also does not show the lowering. Under Meiser’s view we would thus have to assume that Oscan had either generalised /e:/ and /i:/ differently in south and north respectively, or that it had generalised /i:/ in the adjective ‘pious’, which comes from **pīīo-*, and /e:/ in the adverb ‘piously’, which comes from **pīīēd* (and in the participle **pīīēnt-*). Given the evidence available to us, it seems arbitrary to localise the lowering of /i:/ to /e:/ as occurring before a back vowel (rather than

e.g. a front vowel, or indeed as being due to some other conditioning factor).³²

Del Tutto Palma (1996: 415–16) suggests a preform **piē-*io-**, which would also be the origin of Lat. *(*)piēns, pientissimus*, although she leaves open the possibility that **pihiúí** might reflect /pi:/. Del Tutto Palma does not discuss the variation in the quality of the root vowel, but such a root could give all the attested forms if we assumed a full grade **pieh₁-*io-** beside zero-grade **pih₁-(i)o-* > Lat. *pīus* (unmentioned by Del Tutto Palma), Volscian *pihom*. It is possible that this could explain the use of <h> in Osc. **pihiúí**: since **pihiúí** could also be read as /pi:oi/, length-marking <h> is inserted as a way of showing that we must read the preceding <i> as /je:/:, not /i:/. The <i> following the <h> would then represent the phonetic glide in the sequence [e:jV]; although inscriptions in the reformed Oscan alphabet do not usually write this glide, the Tavola di Agnone seems to be an exception (cf. e.g. **kerríuii** Teruentum 34.A 13/Sa 1). However, Del Tutto Palma's approach shares some of the same disadvantages of those of Lejeune and Bader, insofar as it disconnects the forms from *pūrus* without providing any other comparative evidence for the existence of a root **pieh₁-*, and that it requires the derivation of all the words meaning 'pious' from two different formations. Furthermore, it is surprising that in none of the forms apart from Osc. **pihiúí** is the glide /j/ written after /p/.

The shape of these words is unquestionably problematic; however, whatever its origin, it seems clear that **pieδ** must have /e:/ in its first syllable, and /e/ in its second, where it is the regular result of the adverbial ending **-ēd*. On the use of <h> in these forms see pp. 151–3. Untermann (2000: 554–5).

pieheṭṭṣ (Potentia 24/Lu 30) adj. (?) /pe:entefs/ 'pious(?)'

From **piēntib^hos*, with lowering of first vowel? See **pieheδ**. Untermann (2000: 525).

piζṇi (Potentia 11/Lu 35) dat. sg. /pi(:)zei/ or /pe(:)zei/ ?

Uncertain etymology and meaning, but clearly a dat. sg. from **-eḷ*. Untermann (2000: 562).

piṣ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) nom. sg. /pes/ 'who'

Oscan alphabet: **pis** (Capua 21/Cp 32, Saepinum 2/Sa 31)

Latin alphabet: *pis* Bantia 1.8, 10, 19 Adamesteanu fragment 5/Lu 1

Cf. **pispíd** (Abella 1 A.25/Cm 1) 'whoever'

Cf. Lat. *quis* 'who'

From **k^wis*. Although both of the attestations in the Oscan alphabet have <i> in inscriptions which otherwise use <i>, **pispíd** and the comparative evidence show that we must have /e/. Untermann (2000: 558–60).

³² Osc. **fiíet** (Capua 24/Cp 33) is taken by Meiser to represent the 'regular' reflex of **-ī-* as /i:/ before a front vowel, but there seems no reason to prioritise the evidence of **fiíet** over that of **pihiúí** and **pieheδ**.

Oscan words

πισπιτ (Petelia 2) nom. sg. /pesped/ ‘whoever’

Oscan alphabet: **píspíd** (Abella 1 A.25/Cm 1)

From **k^wis-k^wid*. Untermann (2000: 561).

πιω (Cosilinum 2/Lu 40) nom. sg. f. or nom. pl. n. /peo/ ‘auspicious’

On this meaning see Lejeune (1972b: 135; but note also Vetter 1953: 124). For the phonology see **πεθεδ**.

πλαμετοδ (Potentia 40/Lu 13) 3sg. fut. impv. /pla(:)metud/ ?

Etymology unknown, but context suggests an imperative rather than an ablative (following a vocative). The second vowel must be /e/ < *-ē-, since /e/ < *-i- or /e/ < *-e- would have been syncopated. Del Tutto Palma (1990: 154).

πλασος (Paestum 3/Lu 42) nom. sg. m. /plasos/ name

A name unattested elsewhere (Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1325). May not be Oscan.

πλατορ (Tegianum 1/Lu 41), **πλατωρ** (Teaunum Sidicinum 25) nom. sg. m. /plato:r/ or /platu:r/ praenomen

πλατορ is a Messapic name (e.g. MLM 17 Ro), attested also as **πλατωρ** in a Greek inscription (Gabrici 1910: 30; mentioned at SEG 51.1452.1b). A gentilicium derived from it is found in *platorius* (Italia 3/Lu 53). These comparanda suggest that the vowel in the final syllable is /o:/ (*-o- > -a- in Messapic, use of ω in Teaunum Sidicinum 1 and the Greek inscription SEG 51.1452.1b). However, an alternative Messapic form is also found, attested as *platur* (MLM 9 Ruv, 3 Sa), *platuras* (gen. sg. m.) (MLM 2 Gro), which points to /platu:r/ (on this variation see de Simone 1976: 355–9). Consequently, we cannot be certain which of these is represented by **πλατορ**.

ποιαδ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) adj. abl. sg. f. /pojjad/ ‘whose’

Oscan alphabet: **púíiu** (Saepinum 2/Sa 31) nom. sg. f.

Cf. Lat. *quoius*

From **kwojjād*. Untermann (2000: 597–8); Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 225).

ποκιδ(ιηις) (Potentia 1/Lu 5) gen. sg. /pukid/ praenomen

Presumably from the same root as Lat. *Puculeio* (dat. sg. CIL 10.310; Lejeune 1972a: 10).

ποκκαπιδ, ποκ|καπιδ (× 2) (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) /pokkaped/ ‘-ever’

Oscan alphabet: **púkkapíd** (Abella 1 B.26/Cm 1)

Latin alphabet: *pocapit* (Bantia 1.8/Lu 1), *p|ocapid* (Bantia 1.31/Lu 1)

From **k^wod ka k^wid*. Untermann (2000: 598–9).

πολλιες (Crimisa 3/Lu 44) nom. sg. /pollies/ gentilicium

Cf. *polies* (Italia 4/Lu 49) gentilicium and Lat. *Pollius* gentilicium (Schulze 1904: 424).

πολλ[ι]ς (Buxentum 3/Lu 45) nom. sg. /pollies/ cognomen (or gen. sg. /pol^hieis/ praenomen?)

Oscan words discussed in this book

Cf. *polies* (Italia 4/Lu 49) gentilicium and Lat. *Pollius* gentilicium (Schulze 1904: 424)

Not found as praenomen or cognomen in Salomies (1987) or Solin and Salomies (1994).

πομπτιες (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3) nom. sg. /pom(p)ties/ gentilicium

Oscan alphabet: **púmt(iis)** (Bouianum 14/tSa 11, Bouianum 15/tSa 9)

Cf. **[p]úmtéis** (Atina 1 A/Sa 14) praenomen

Derived from **k^wenk^w-to-* ‘fifth’ (cf. Lat. *quīctus*; Salomies 1987: 107).

However, the alternative forms **púntiis** (Pompeii 13/Po 1), **pun(tiiis)** (Bouianum 44/Sa 46), along with Lat. *Pontius*, suggest that the original development was to **ponto-*,³³ and that the /m/ in **πομπτιες** is due to remodelling after **pompe* ‘five’.³⁴ Either the resulting **pompto-* was then further reduced to **pomto-*, as suggested by the Oscan-alphabet spelling, in which case the <π> of **πομπτιες** represents an anaptyctic [p] in the sequence /mt/. Or the /p/ of /pompties/ is omitted in the Oscan-alphabet spelling, as in the case of the (anaptyctic) [p] in **niumsis** for [njumpsis].

πονδιουμ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) gen. pl. /pondium/ ‘of weights’

Borrowed from Latin *pondium*. Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 256–60).

ποπτεδ[i(ο)μ] (Crimisa 3/Lu 44) acc. sg. m. /poped/ gentilicium

Cf. **púpidiis** (e.g. Pompeii 9/Po 5)

For the /ε/ in the second syllable see p. 47.

πους (× 2) (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) nom. pl. /pu:s/ ‘who’ or conj. /puss/ ‘that’

Oscan alphabet (‘who’) **pús** (Abella 1.A 8, B 7, 19/Cm 1, Teruentum 34. A 1/Sa 1) (with analogical <ú> for expected /u:/ < *-ō-; cf. P. *puus* Corfinium 6/Pg 9)

Oscan alphabet (‘that’) **puz** (Abella 1. A 17/Cm 1, Pompeii 7/Po 39)

Latin alphabet (‘that’) *pūs* (Cumae 10/Cm 15), *pūs* (Bantia 1.9/Lu 1)

If /pu:s/ ‘who’, from **k^wōs*. If /puss/ ‘that’, from **k^wutis*, by syncope, followed by **-ts* > /ss/, for which cf. **τρεβας** (Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43) < **trebats*. Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 245) allow the possibility that **πους** may be an accusative plural, but this ought to come from **k^wō-ns*, and the development of **-ns* to **-ss* in Oscan does not cause lengthening (see Rix 1986). Untermann (2000: 595–7, 627–8).

προ[ffeδ] (Potentia 8/Lu 9) verb? /pro/ or /pru/ ?

Probably /pro/ as in **προφατεδ**, but it could also reflect /pru/ as in **prupukid** (Abella 1 A.2/Cm 1) < **prō-pak-* (Untermann 2000: 587).

³³ This could be by **pompto-* > **pomfto-* (for **-pt-* > **-ft-* in Oscan, see Buck 1928: 78) > **pomto-* > **ponto-*.

³⁴ The relative chronology of the inscriptions in which /pom(p)t/ and /pont/ appear allows this interpretation without being strongly in favour of it: **pun(tiiis)** is the earliest, in Bouianum 44/Sa 46, dated to before 300 on the basis of the absence of diacritics. The next is **πομπτιες**, about 250 BC; the remaining inscriptions date to the second century.

πρωφατεδ (Potentia 1/Lu 5), **πρωφατεδ** (Potentia 2/Lu 12) 3sg. perf. /profatted/ ‘he approved’

Oscan alphabet: **prúfatted** (e.g. Pompeii 24/Po 3)

Cf. Lat. *probāuit*

From **profā-tt-ed* < **prob^huā-*. Untermann (2000: 583–4).

πωμπονις (Potentia 1/Lu 5) nom. sg. /pompunis/ gentilicium

Cf. Lat. *Pompōnius*.

πωμφοκ(ια) (Potentia 1/Lu 5) ? /pomfok/ or /pomfuk/ ?

From context, this word seems either to be an adjective agreeing with **κενσορτατη** ‘censorship’, the name of another office in asyndeton, or a title. For the various etymological possibilities, see Untermann (2000: 601).

πωτ (Anxia 1/Lu 39) acc. sg. n. relative pronoun or conj. /pod/ ‘what’ or ‘that’

Latin alphabet: *pod* (Bantia 1.10/Lu 1)

From **k^wod*. Untermann (2000: 591, 595–7); Del Tutto Palma (1990: 29–31).

ρεγο(μ) (Potentia 1/Lu 5) gen. pl. m. /re:gom/ or /re:gum/ ‘of the kings’

Cf. Lat. *rēx*

From **rēgōm* (Untermann 2000: 632–3).

ρεητ[ε] (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) adv. or adj. /reht/ ‘right’ or ‘rightly’

Cf. Lat. *rectus*. From **reg-to-* (Untermann 2000: 633–4; Gualtieri and Poccetti 2001: 240).

ρεκινομ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) acc. sg. m., f. or n. or gen. pl. /rekinom/ or /rekinum/ or /rekinom/ or /rekinum/ ?

Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 231–2).

ρεκος (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) nom. sg. m.? /rekus/ or /rekus/ or acc. pl. m.? /rekoss/ or /rekoss/? ?

This word is directly followed by **φουστ**, which makes it look parallel to <f>*acus* <f>*ust* in Bantia 1.30/Lu 1 (as discussed by Gualtieri and Poccetti 2001: 240–43), in which case it would be an adjective ending in /us/, of whatever origin (see the discussion in Wallace 1985). However, this analysis is problematic, because /u/ is otherwise always spelt <ou> in Buxentum 1/Lu 62. The various possibilities for solving the problem are: (a) on this single occasion <o> does represent /u/; (b) the inscriber of the tablet mistakenly missed out a letter, and we should read **ρεκο<u>ς**; (c) this word is really an *o*-stem acc. pl. m. in /oss/.³⁵ All three possibilities have appealing features. As for (a), consistency of spelling is not a high priority in Oscan inscriptions written in the Greek alphabet; although we only find <ou> elsewhere in this inscription, we only have a small fragment of this inscription and it may be that although the writer preferred <ou>, he

³⁵ Poccetti’s (2002: 59–63) attempt to motivate /os/ as an analogical replacement for **-us* > **-s* by syncope in the nom. sg. is highly implausible.

sometimes also used <ο>. With regard to (b), there are several other errors in this tablet. As to (c), other syntagms than nom. sg. adj. + *fust* may well have existed in Oscan legal language: in fact we find gen. sg. + *fust* in the Adamesteanu fragment l. 8 (*pantes census fust*): it is not impossible to think of a context in which an acc. pl. might also appear before *fust*.

σαβιδιον (Laos 2/Lu 46) acc. sg. m. /safidiom/ or /sabidiom/ gentilicium (see [Chapter 1 fn. 14](#))

σαβιδι(ον) (Laos 2/Lu 46) acc. sg. m. /safidiom/ or /sabidiom/ gentilicium (or /sabidim/ or /safidim/ praenomen if Crawford *et al.*'s (2011) reading σαβιδι(ν) is correct; see [Chapter 1 fn. 14](#))

From **sab^h-īdīo-*, with the Latin reflex /b/ of **b^h*- if this is the Latin version of the name (see p. 101). Schulze (1904: 232–3, 479); Solin and Salomies (1994: 160).

σακορο (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3, Messana 5/Me 2) nom. sg. f. or nom. pl. n. /sakoro/ 'sacred'

From **sakrā*. Untermann (2000: 647–9).

σαλαρς (Cosilinum 2/Lu 40) adj. nom. sg. /salaus/ 'well, healthy'

From **salauros* (Nussbaum 1997: 90–92; Untermann 2000: 652–4).

σεγονω (Potentia 1/Lu 5) acc. pl. n. /segono/ 'statues'

Oscan alphabet: **segúnú** (Abella 3/Cm 3)

From **segnā*. Untermann (2000: 661–2).

σenaτης (Potentia 1/Lu 5, Potentia 9/Lu 6, Potentia 10/Lu 7), **σena]της** (Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2) gen. sg. /senateis/ 'of the senate'

Oscan alphabet: **senateís** (Abella 1.A 8, B 9/Cm 1)

Latin alphabet: *senateis* (Bantia 1.3/Lu 1)

From **senāteis* (borrowed from Latin). Untermann (2000: 666–7).

σερευ|κιδιμο (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) nom. sg. f. /kidimo/ 'authority'

σερευκιδιμαμ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) acc. sg. /sereukidimam/

Cf. **serevkiidimaden** (Pompeii 13/Po 1) abl. sg. + postposition

Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 213–15, 243–4).

σκαλαπονιες (Tegianum 1/Lu 41) nom. sg. /skalapunies/ gentilicium

Cf. Lat. *Scalponius* (gentilicium) (CIL 1².1683 = 10.497, 6.5143, AE 1976.675 [= AE 1980: 206])

σκαλαπονις (Cosilinum 2/Lu 40) nom sg. /alapunis/ praenomen (?)

σκαφιριω (Petelia 2) nom. sg. /skafirⁱrⁱo/ or /skafirio/ gentilicium (see [Chapter 1 fn. 9](#))

Cf. Lat. *Scafius* gentilicium (Rostowzew 1903: 160 no. 1313)

Presumably from **skafirīā* or **skafirijā*.

σολλομ (Petelia 2) gen. pl. /sollum/ 'of all'

Oscan words

Oscan alphabet: **sullum** (Cumae 8/Cm 14) gen. pl., **sjúllad** (Abella 1/ Cm 1) abl. sg.

From **soluōm*. Untermann (2000: 714–15).

σοροϝωμ (Anxia 1/Lu 39) acc. sg. n. (?) /sor(r)owom/ or /sur(r)owom/ or /sur(r)uwom/ or /sor(r)uwom/ ?

Meaning and etymology unclear, but if it agrees with preceding πωτ, it is an acc. sg. n. *o*-stem.

For a very speculative analysis see Del Tutto Palma (1990: 31).

σουρεν (Numistro 1/Lu 4) loc. sg. + postposition /sowen/ ‘in his own’

Cf. **húrtín** (Teruentum 34.A 1/Sa 1)

From **souei-en*. Untermann (2000: 724–5).

σπελ(ι)αν (Laos 2/Lu 46) acc. sg. f. /speʎʰam/ gentilicium (for the problem of identifying praenomina and gentilicia in Laos 2/Lu 46 see [Chapter 1 fn. 14](#))

Given the presence of the male name σπελιν (see below) on this tablet, the most plausible analysis is that σπελ(ι)αν is the female version of the same name, which is a gentilicium. In this case the praenomen from which the gentilicium is derived would be the σπελλας* attested in the gen. sg. σπελληις (Potentia 9/Lu 6), σπελλ[ηις] (Potentia 10/Lu 7). Alternatively, the forms in Laos 2/Lu 46 could both be praenomina, in which case the praenomen σπελληις should be read as σπελλ(ι)ηις. Although this cannot be ruled out, I take σπελ(ι)αν and σπελιν to be gentilicia. From **spellīam*. For the double /ll/ cf. **σπελληις**, Lat. *Spellius*.

σπελιν (Laos 2/Lu 46) acc. sg. m. /spellim/ gentilicium (see **σπελ(ι)αν**)

Cf. Lat. *Spellius* (e.g. CIL 10.5204)

From **spellīom* (Poccetti 1993b: 167). Salomies (1987: 108, 2008: 34).

σπελληις (Potentia 9/Lu 6), σπελλ[ηις] (Potentia 10/Lu 7) gen. sg. m. /spelleis/ praenomen

Probably from **spello-*, not **spellīo-*, because the latter gives the gentilicium (see **σπελ(ι)αν**). Salomies (1987: 108, 2008: 34).

σταβαλανο (Potentia 1/Lu 5) nom. pl. n. gerundive /stafalanno/ ‘which are to be set up’

Cf. **stafflatas** (Capua 29/Cp 24) ‘set up’

From **stab^h(V)lā-nd-ā*. On the origin of the gerundive in Italic see Meiser (1993), Jasanoff (2006 [2010]). Del Tutto Palma (1990: 113–14) argues that σταβαλανο(μ) should be understood as an *o*-stem accusative singular, with the meaning ‘base’. However, the main reason for this is the variation of the use of <o> in σταβαλανο and <ω> in <o>πσανω with which it is conjoined by ειν(ειμ) ‘and’. As is shown on pp. 53–63, both <o> and <ω> can be used to reflect /o/, and Del Tutto Palma’s analysis of the syntax of the inscription is considerably less straightforward than taking σταβαλανο as a gerundive. Untermann (2000: 694).

Oscan words discussed in this book

σταλλίης (Potentia 13/Lu 16), **στ]αλλίης** (Potentia 28/Lu 22) nom. sg. /stallies/ cognomen

Cf. Lat. *Stallius* as gentilicium (Solin and Salomies 1994: 175), not as cognomen.

στατις (× 4 Petelia 2) nom. sg. /stat:ies/ gentilicium

Oscan alphabet: **staatiis** (Teruentum 12/Sa 13) nom. sg. gentilicium

See **στατις**.

στατιο, στατιω (Petelia 2) nom. sg. /sta:tio/ gentilicium (see [Chapter 1 fn. 9](#))

Cf. **staatiis** (Teruentum 12/Sa 13) nom. sg. gentilicium

From **stātiīā*. See **στατις**.

στατις (Potentia 3/Lu 8, Crimisa 3/Lu 44), **[σ]τατις** (Laos 3/Lu 63) nom. sg. /sta:tis/ praenomen

στατιν (Laos 2/Lu 46) acc. sg. /sta:tim/ praenomen (for the problem of identifying praenomina and gentilicia in Laos 2/Lu 46 see [Chapter 1 fn. 14](#), but **στατις** is attested elsewhere only as a praenomen, and the gentilicium is **στατιες, staatiis**)

σταττιης (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3), **σ]ταττιης** (Messana 5/Me 2), **στα(τιης)** (Potentia 3/Lu 8) gen. sg. /sta:tʰi:is/ praenomen

Cf. **staatiis** (Teruentum 12/Sa 13) nom. sg. gentilicium, Lat. gentilicium *Statius, Staenius* (CIL 1².1845 = CIL 9.4642), *Staatia* (CIL 1².1824).

Salomies (1987: 90–91, 2008: 34–5).

σεννιης (Messana 7/Me 5) gen. sg. m. /stenʰnʰi:is/ praenomen

Oscan alphabet: **stenis** (e.g. Caudium 3/Cm 34)

All the other Oscan examples of this name spell it with a single <n> or <v>. In Latin sources it is normally spelt *Stenius* (or *Sthenius*), but occasionally *St(h)ennius*, so an original **nn-* cannot be ruled out. From **sten(n)ieis*. Salomies (1987: 922, 2008: 35).

σуп (Metapontum 1/Lu 37) prep. /sup/ ‘under’

Oscan alphabet: perhaps **sup** (Teanum Sidicinum 34/Si 1b)

From **supo*. Untermann (2000: 718–19).

сурієς (Laos 3/Lu 63) nom. sg. m. /suries/ or /syries/ gentilicium

Cf. Lat. *Surius* (e.g. CIL 6.27028) gentilicium (Schulze 1904: 235)

On the basis of the Latin attestations we cannot be sure whether this name comes from **sūrios* or **surios*.³⁶

τανγινοδ (Potentia 9/Lu 6, Potentia 10/Lu 7, Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2), <τ>{αν}αγγινουδ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62), **[τανγιν]ο<δ>** (Cosilinum 1/Lu 3), (τ)ανγινουτ (Potentia 1/Lu 5) abl. sg. f. /tanginud/ ‘by decree’

Oscan alphabet: e.g. **tanginúd** (Abella 1.A 8, 16, B 9–10/Cm 1), **tanginud** (Pompeii 24/Po 3)

³⁶ For the uncertainty regarding the result of **-i-* in Oscan, see [Figure 1 Note](#).

Oscan words

From **tng-īn-ōd*. Untermann (2000: 733–4).

ταυριανουμ (Tauriani 1/tLu 13) gen. pl. m. /taurⁱanum/ ‘of the Tauriani’

ταυρομ (Vibo 2/Lu 25) acc. sg. m. /taurom/ ‘bull’

From **taurom*. Untermann (2000: 777–8), with comment of Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1496).

Ἰτιοφ (Potentia 37) nom. sg. /tⁱuf/

Cf. **úíttiuf** (Abella 1 B.14/Cm 1) ‘usage’

An abstract in **-tīōns*.

τιτιδιες (Potentia 12/Lu 27, Potentia 17/Lu 15) nom. sg. /tetidies/ gentilicium

Cf. *titieis* (Anagnia 14/He 3) gen. sg. gentilicium, *titaie(s)* (Nola 10) nom. sg. gentilicium, **titti(is)** (Pompeii 124/tPo 13) nom. sg. gentilicium, *P. titiis* (Sulmo 20/Pg 45) nom. sg. gentilicium, South Picene **titiúh** (Interpromium 1/CH 2) dat. (or abl.) sg. gentilicium, **titienom** (Interamnia Praetuttiorum 5/TE 3) acc. sg. or gen. pl. praenomen or gentilicium, Lat. *Titus* praenomen.

I take the good evidence of Lat. *Titus* to be more reliable as evidence for the length of the vowel in the first syllable than **titti(is)** (where we would therefore expect <i> in the first syllable if it is **-i-*). Neither of the Oscan forms in the Latin and Etruscan alphabets provide evidence, since neither distinguishes between **-i-* > /e/ and **-ī-* > /i:/. In Paelignian and South Picene both **-ī-* > /i: / and **-i-* > /i/ are written with <i> and <ī> respectively (Jiménez Zamudio 1986: 121–3; Adiego Lajara 1992: 46–7). Salomies (1987: 57).

Ἰτουδ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) /tud/

Probably a 3sg. fut. impv. Could be an abl. sg. of an *o-* or consonant-stem.

τούρειεις (Vibo 7/tLu 7) gen. sg. /tureeis/ or /turejeis/ gentilicium

Cf. Lat. *Tureius* (CIL 10.4261), *Tūrius* (for the short vowel Horace *S.* 2.1.49)

This name is either formed with the **-eio-* suffix, or belongs to the same class of gentilicium whose nominative is seen in αφεῖεις. On these suffixes see pp. 49–50. Schulze (1904: 160).

τούτεικεις (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) adj. gen. sg. /toutekeis/ ‘public’

τουτ]εῖκουδ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) abl. sg. /ekud/

Oscan alphabet: **túvtíks** (Herculaneum 1/Cm 10). Latin alphabet: *toutico* (Bantia 1.23/Lu 1)

From **toutikeis*, **toutikōd*. Untermann (2000: 782–3).

τρεβας (Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43) nom. sg. m. /trebass/ praenomen

From **trebats*, as is clear from the gentilicium τρεβατιες (Teuranus Ager 1/Lu 43). Derived from the same root as τρε<β>ω.

τρε<β>ω (Petelia 2) nom. sg. f. /trebo/ or /trebⁱbⁱo/ praenomen

Cf. **trebis** (e.g. Saepinum 4/Sa 59), τρεβις (Lucania 1/Lu 19, Potentia 44/tLu 1) m. praenomen

Crawford *et al.* (2011) translate this name as *Trebia*, which would then be derived from **trebis**, without writing of /j/. Although there is no attested masculine name *Trebs* < **trebos* from which *Treba* would be derived, there is an Umbrian god (or goddess?) attested in the dative as **trebe** (IT Ia 8), *trebo* (VIa 58), the former of which points to **trebos* or **trebā* (the second attestation seems to be a *u*-stem; see Untermann 2000: 760). On the use of divine names as human names see Poccetti (2009, esp. 227–8 on female names). Consequently, it is possible that τρε<β>ω comes from **trebā* rather than from **trebiā*. Salomies (1987: 94, 2008: 36).

τρειβιϝομ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) ? /tre:biwom/ or /tre:bewom/ or /tre:biwum/ or /tre:bewum/ ?

It is not clear what part of speech this word is (possibilities include infinitive, nom./acc. sg. n., acc. sg. m., or gen. pl.), but its root is presumably the same as that of **trībúm** ‘building’ (Pompeii 24/Po 3). See τρειβ[ωμ].

Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 225–6), Untermann (2000: 765–6).

τρειβ[ωμ] (Atina Lucana 1/Lu 2) acc. sg. f. /tre:b/ ‘building’

Oscan alphabet: **trībúm** ‘building’ (Pompeii 24/Po 3)

From **trēbom*. Untermann (2000: 765–6).

τρειπκατομ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) past participle acc. sg. m. or nom./acc. sg. n. or gen. pl. /tre:pkatom/ or /tre:pkatum/ ‘built’

Plausibly derived from **trēbikātom* by Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 216–17).

See τρειβ[ωμ].

τρι[οπερτ] (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) adv. /tre/ or /tri/ ‘three times’

Cf. U. **triia** (IT IV 2) acc. pl. n. ‘three’, **triuper** (e.g. IT Ib 21) adv. ‘three times’, Lat. *tria* acc. pl. n. ‘three’

The Italic forms are a remodelling of expected **trī* < **trih*₂ (Weiss 2009: 267–8).

It is not clear whether they reflect **trijā* or **trījā*. Untermann (2000: 767–8).

τωϝτο (Messana 4/Me 1 & 3), τω<ϝ>τ[ο] (Messana 5/Me 2) nom. sg. f. /touto/ ‘people’

Latin alphabet: *touto* (Bantia 1.9, 15/Lu 1)

From **toutā*. Untermann (2000: 779–91)

υκεις (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) gen. sg. /ukeis/

It is not possible to know whether the <υ> here is a single graph, or is the second half of the digraph <ου>, <αυ> or <ευ>.

υξ (Potentia 21/Lu 29) nom. sg. /uks/ ?

It is not possible to know whether the <υ> here is a single graph, or is the second half of the digraph <ου>, <αυ> or <ευ> (thus Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1398, who speculate that we have here the name **teyks*, cf. Lat. *Teucus*; Salomies 1987: 93).

υπι(ι)λ (Vibo 9) nom. sg. or gen. sg. m.?

Oscan words

Taken by Crawford *et al.* (2011: 1504) to be an abbreviation of the nom. sg. or gen. sg. of the name they translate as Latin *Opillus* (better *Opilus*; see p. 214), i.e. Oscan **upils** (Cumae 15/Cm 33). Since there is no other example of <u> being used for /o/, this seems unlikely. One might instead compare the Latin gentilicia *Upellius* (if correctly read at CIL 3.1921) and *Uppilius** (gen. sg. CIL 13.6198). But any interpretation is very uncertain.

φοινι[κισ] (Buxentum 3/Lu 45) nom. sg. m. /p^(h)oini/ gentilicium

Oscan alphabet: **puinik(iis)** in Capua 43/Cp 1 is now to be read as **pumik(iis)**, Crawford *et al.* (2011: 461).

φοινι[κισ] could also be an ethnic (thus Campanile 1992a; on this question see Prag 2006: 10–11). It is derived from the Greek idionym or ethnic Φοῖνιξ ‘Phoenician’ (Gualtieri and Poccetti 1990: 148–9).

ωλ+ (Potentia 37) ? /ol/ ?

]+ωμ (Potentia 8/Lu 9) acc. sg. m., f. or n. ? /om/ ?

(ω)πσανω : see <ο>πσανω.

ωσδδιηις (Crimisa 2/Lu 24) gen. sg. /oudⁱdⁱeis/ praenomen

Latin: *Ouidius* (gentilicium)

From **oudiēis*. Derived from οφις (Lejeune 1976: 74; Salomies 1987: 83).

φακτιεδ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) 3sg. perf. subj.? /faktted?/ ?

If <ie> is inverted, or one or other of the letters taken to be a mistake, this form looks like the subjunctive of a *tt*-perfect derived from the present stem **fak_ie/o-*: **fak-je-tt-ē-t* > **fakittēd* > **fakttēd*. However, the original reduplicated perfect is (still) attested in the much later Tabula Bantina: *fefacust* (Bantia 1.11/Lu 1), *fefacid* (Bantia 1.10/Lu 1). The verb cannot be the present subjunctive of the equivalent of Latin *factitō* ‘do frequently’, because primary **-kt-* would have given **-ht-* in Oscan (Buck 1928: 89), and because the subjunctive of *ā*-stems is /ae/, cf. *deiuaid* (Bantia 1.11/Lu 1). Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 253–5).

φατοφε (Potentia 40/Lu 13) voc. sg. /fatowe/ theonym

φατ[οφ]οι (Potentia 40/Lu 13) dat. sg. /fatowoi/

Cf. **fatuveis** Aeclanum 1/Hi 6

From **fatoue*, **fatouōi*. Untermann (2000: 268).

φειρα (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) ? /fe:ra/ or /fēira/ ?

No etymology. Since /ε/ is never written <ει>, this word cannot be connected with Lat. *ferō* < **b^her-e/o-*. Gualtieri and Poccetti (2001: 229–31).

φστιες (Lucania 1/Lu 19) nom. sg. m. /festies/ gentilicium

Cf. Lat. *Festus* (cognomen).

φλουσοι (Potentia 40/Lu 13) dat. sg. /flu:soi/ ‘for Florus’

Oscan words discussed in this book

Either cf. Lat. *Flōrus* (cognomen; Kajanto 1965: 233–4), *flōrus* ‘light-coloured, fair’ or the theonym Osc. **fluusaí** (Pompeii 36/Po 20), Lat. *Flōra*. Untermann (2000: 292–3).

φουστ (Buxentum 1/Lu 62) 3sg fut. (perf.) /fust/ ‘(s)he will be, have been’

Oscan alphabet: **fust** (Capua 21/Cp 32)

Latin alphabet: *fust* (Bantia 1.19, 22, 23, 29, Adamesteanu fragment 8/Lu 1),

<f>*ust* (Bantia 1.30 /Lu 1)

From **fū-s-t*. Untermann (2000: 245–52).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

AE	L'Année Epigraphique
CIG	August Boekh, Johannes Franz, Ernst Curtius and Adolph Kirchhoff (eds.) (1828–1877). <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . Berlin: Officina Academica
CIL 1 ²	T. Mommsen, G. Henzen, C. Huelsen, Ioannes Krummrey and Atilius Degrassi (eds.) (1893–1986). <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Vol. 1: <i>Inscriptiones Latinae antiquissimae ad C. Caesaris mortem</i> . Second edition. Berlin: George Reimer and Walter De Gruyter
CIL 3	Theodorus Mommsen, Otto Hirschfeld and Alfredus Domaszewski (eds.) (1873–1902). <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Vol. 3: <i>Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Europae Graecarum Illyrici Latinae. Inscriptionum orientis et Illyrici Latinarum Supplementum</i> . Berlin: George Reimer
CIL 4	Carolus Zangemeister, Augustus Mau, P. Ciprotti, Ricardo Schoene and V. Weber (eds.) (1871–2011). <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Vol. 4: <i>Inscriptiones parietariae Pompeianae, Herculenses, Stabianae</i> . Berlin: George Reimer and Walter De Gruyter
CIL 5	Theodorus Mommsen (ed.) (1872–1877). <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Vol. 5: <i>Inscriptiones Galliae Cisalpiniae Latinae</i> . Berlin: George Reimer
CIL 6	Eugenius Bormann, Guilelmus Henzen, Christianus Huelsen, Martinus Bang and Ladislaus Vidman (eds.) (1876–1980). <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Vol. 6: <i>Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae</i> . Berlin: George Reimer and Walter De Gruyter
CIL 9	Theodorus Mommsen (ed.) (1883). <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Vol. 9: <i>Inscriptiones Calabriae, Apuliae, Samnii, Sabinorum, Piceni Latinae</i> . Berlin: George Reimer
CIL 10	Theodorus Mommsen (ed.) (1883). <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Vol. 10: <i>Inscriptiones Bruttiorum, Lucaniae, Campaniae, Siciliae, Sardiniae Latinae</i> . Berlin: George Reimer
CIL 11	Eugenius Bormann (ed.) (1888–1926). <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Vol. 11: <i>Inscriptiones Aemiliae, Etruriae, Umbriae Latinae</i> . Berlin: George Reimer

Bibliography

- CIL 13 Otto Hirschfeld, Carolus Zangemeister, A. Domaszewski, O. Bohn, E. Stein and I. Volkmann (eds.) (1899–1943). *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Vol. 13: *Inscriptiones trium Galliarum et Germaniarum Latinae*. Berlin: George Reimer and Walter De Gruyter
- CIL 14 Hermannus Dessau and Lotharius Wickert (eds.) (1887–1933). *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Vol. 14: *Inscriptiones Latii veteris Latinae*. Berlin: George Reimer and Walter De Gruyter
- IEW Julius Pokorny (1959). *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern and Munich: Francke Verlag
- IG 10 Carolus Edson, Fanula Papazoglu, Milena Milin and Marijana Rici (eds.) (1972–1999). *Inscriptiones Graecae Epiri, Macedoniae, Thraciae, Scythiae*. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter
- IG 14 George Kaibel and Albert Lebeque (eds.) (1890). *Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et Italiae. Additis Graecis Galliae Hispaniae Britanniae Germaniae Inscriptionibus*. Berlin: George Reimer
- LIV Helmut Rix and Martin Kümmel (2001). *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*. Second edition. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert
- MLM Carlo de Simone and Simona Marchesini (eds.) (2002). *Monumenta Linguae Messapicae*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag
- NIL Dagmar Wodtko, Britta Irslinger and Carolin Schneider (2008). *Nomina im Indogermanischen Lexikon*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter
- SEG Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
- Adamesteanu, Dinu and Michel Lejeune (1971). Il santuario lucano di Macchia di Rossano di Vaglio. *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Series 8, 16, 39–83
- Adams, J. N. (2003). *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- (2013). *Social Variation and the Latin Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Adiego Lajara, Ignacio-Javier (1992). *Protosabelio, osco-umbro, sudpiceno*. Barcelona: PPU
- Allen, W. Sidney (1987). *Vox Graeca: The Pronunciation of Classical Greek*. Third edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Arena, Renato (1966). Il valore di *ii* in osco-umbro. *Istituto Lombardo. Accademia di Scienze e Lettere. Rendiconti. Classe di lettere e Scienze Morali e Storici* 100, 435–72
- (1998). *Iscrizioni greche arcaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia*. Vol. 5: *Iscrizioni di Taranto, Locri Epizefiri, Velia e Siracusa*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso
- Aurigemma, Salvatore (1940). Opera idraulica medievale apprestata con blocchi architettonici e lastre lapidee scritte d'età romana, in località Villa San

Bibliography

- Maurizio presso Reggio Emilia. *Atti della Reale Accademia d'Italia. Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* Series 7, 18, 255–89
- Bader, Françoise (1978). De ‘protéger’ a ‘razzier’ au néolithique indo-européen: phraséologie, étymologies, civilisation. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 73, 101–219
- Balles, Irene (1999). Zu den britannischen **io*-Stämmen und ihren idg. Quellen. In Stefan Zimmer, Rolf Ködderitzsch and Arndt Wigger (eds.), *Akten des zweiten deutschen Keltologen-Symposiums (Bonn, 2.–4. April 1997)*, 4–22. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag
- Bartoněk, Antonín (1975). Greek dialects of ancient Apennine peninsula. In Josef Češka (ed.), *Classica atque Mediaevalia Jaroslao Ludvikovský Octogenario Oblata*, 17–36. Brno: Opera Universitatis Purkynianae Brunensis, Faculta Philosophia
- Benediktsson, Hreinn (1960). The vowel syncope in Oscan-Umbrian. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 19, 157–295
- Bottini, Angelo and Emanuele Greco (1974–1975). Tomba a camera dal territorio pestano: alcune considerazioni sulla posizione della donna. *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 8, 231–74
- Buck, Carl Darling (1928). *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian: With a Collection of Inscriptions and a Glossary*. Second edition. Boston: Ginn and Company
- (1955). *The Greek Dialects*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
- Campanile, Enrico (1992a). Un fenicio a Rocca gloriosa. *Studi Etruschi* 58, 369–71
- (1992b). Note sulla defixio di Marcellina. *Studi Etruschi* 58, 371–7
- Capano, Antonio and Loretta Del Tutto Palma (1990). L’iscrizione di Muro Lucano. In Marcello Tagliente (ed.), *Italice in Magna Graecia: Lingua, insediamenti e strutture*, 105–10. Venosa: Edizioni Osanna
- Cappelletti, Loredana (2005). Le monete ‘lupine’ dei Lucani. *Tyche* 20, 11–21
- Clackson, James (2002). The writing of $\chi\sigma$ and $\phi\sigma$ for ξ and ψ . *Glotta* 78, 22–35
- (2007). *Indo-European Linguistics: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- (2015). Subgrouping in the Sabellian branch of Indo-European. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 113, 4–37
- Clackson, James and Geoffrey Horrocks (2011). *The Blackwell History of the Latin Language*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell
- Cohn, Abigail C. (1993). Nasalisation in English: phonology or phonetics. *Phonology* 10, 43–81
- Colonna, Giovanni (1984). Un ‘trofeo’ di Novio Fannio, comandante sannita. In Anonymous (ed.), *Studi di antichità in onore di Guglielmo Maetzke*, 229–41. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore
- Consani, Carlo (1996). Koinai et koiné dans la documentation épigraphique de l’Italie méridionale. In Claude Brixhe (ed.), *La koiné grecque antique*. Vol. 2: *La concurrence*, 113–32. Nancy: A.D.R.A.

Bibliography

- Conway, R. S. (1897). *The Italic Dialects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Cornell, T. J. (1990). The conquest of Italy. In F. W. Walbank, A. E. Austin, M. W. Frederiksen and R. M. Ogilvie (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Vol. 7, Part 2: *The Rise of Rome to 220 BC*, 351–419. Second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Crawford, Michael H. (1996). *Roman Statutes*. London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London
- (2006). The Oscan inscriptions of Messana. In Carmine Ampolo (ed.), *Guerra e pace in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo antico (VIII–III sec. a.C.)*, Vol. 2, 521–5. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale
- (2007). The Mamertini, Alfius and Festus. In Julien Dubouloz and Sylvie Pittia (eds.), *La Sicile de Cicéron: Lectures des Verrines. Organisé par l'UMR 8585. Centre Gustave Glotz*, 274–9. Besançon: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté
- (2010). Onomastics and the administration of Italia/víteliú? In R. W. V. Catling and F. Marchand (eds.), *Onomatologos: Studies in Greek Personal Names Presented to Elaine Matthews*, 276–9. Oxford: Oxbow Books
- Crawford, Michael, W. M. Broadhead, J. P. T. Clackson, F. Santangelo, S. Thompson and M. Watmough (2011). *Imagines Italicae: A Corpus of Italic Inscriptions*. London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London
- Cristofani, Mauro (1996 [1998]). Sull'origine della scrittura osco-greca. *Studi Etruschi* 62, 275–9
- Cristofori, Alessandro (1998). Appunti sulla colonizzazione italica dell'Africa settentrionale: il caso dei Safidii. In Mustapha Khanoussi, Paola Ruggeri and Cinzia Vismara (eds.), *L'Africa Romana: Atti del XII convegno di studio, Olbia 12–15 settembre 1996*, 1389–99. Sassari: Editrice Democratica Sarda
- D'Amore, Lucia (2007). *Iscrizioni greche d'Italia: Reggio Calabria*. Rome: Edizioni Quasar
- Davis, Stuart (2014). Quantity. In John A. Goldsmith, Jason Riddle and Alan C. L. Yu (eds.), *The Handbook of Phonological Theory*, 103–40. Second edition. Malden, MA, Oxford and Chichester: Wiley Blackwell
- de Melo, Wolfgang David Cirilo (2012). Review of Dupraz (2012). *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2012.06.15 (<http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2012/2012-06-15.html>)
- de Simone, Carlo (1976). Messapic *damatira/damatura* – Balkanic ('Illyrian') Δειπάρτορος. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 4, 355–66
- (2006). Falisco *faced* ~ latino arcaico *vhevhaked*: la genuinità della fibula prenestina e problemi connessi. *Incontri Linguistici* 29, 159–75
- de Vaan, Michiel (2008). *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages*. Leiden and Boston: Brill
- Del Monaco, Lavinio (2013). *Iscrizioni greche d'Italia: Locri*. Rome: Edizioni Quasar

Bibliography

- Del Tutto Palma, Loretta (1989). Epigrafia lucana. *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Linguistica dell'Università di Urbino* 6, 93–118
- (1990). *Le iscrizioni della Lucania preromana*. Padua: Unipress
- (1991). Due 'voces nihili': lucano *udo e *numulo. *Studi Etruschi* 57, 179–86
- (1996). Grafia e scrittura nella Tavola di Agnone. In Loretta Del Tutto Palma (ed.), *La Tavola di Agnone nel Contesto Italiano: Convegno di Studio. Agnone, 13–15 aprile 1994*, 413–33. Florence: Leo S. Olschki
- Delamarre, Xavier (2003). *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise: Une approche linguistique du vieux-celtique continental*. Second edition. Paris: Editions Errance
- Delmaire, Roland (ed.) (1994). *Carte archeologique de la Gaule 62/1: Le Pas-de-Calais*. Paris: Académie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Ministère de la Culture
- Dexheimer, Dagmar (1998). *Oberitalische Grabaltäre: Ein Beitrag zur Sepulkralkunst der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Oxford: John and Erica Hedges
- Domingo, Enrique García (1979). *Latinismos en la koiné (en los documentos epigráficos desde el 212 a J.C. hasta el 14 d. J.C.): Gramática y lexicon griego-latino, latino-griego*. Burgos: Universidad de Valladolid, Colegio Universitario de Burgos
- Dupraz, Emmanuel (2012). *Sabellian Demonstratives: Forms and Functions*. Leiden and Boston: Brill
- Eichner, Heiner (1993). 1919 oder 1991? Zur Entwicklung der oskisch-umbrischen Studien nebst einer neuen Interpretation des Textes von Fonte Romito (Vetter Nr. 147). In Helmut Rix (ed.), *Oskisch-Umbrisch: Texte und Grammatik. Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft und der Società Italiana di Glottologia vom 25. bis 28. September 1991*, 46–95. Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert
- Flobert, Pierre (1990). Le témoignage épigraphique des apices et des I longae sur les quantités vocaliques en latin impérial. In Gualtiero Calboli (ed.), *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif II: Actes du IIème Colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif (Bologne, 29 août – 2 septembre 1988)*, 101–10. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag
- Foti, Giuseppe and Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli (1974). Un sepolcro di Hipponion e un nuovo testo orfico. *Parola del Passato* 29, 91–126
- Franchi De Bellis, Annalisa (1981). *Le iovile capuane*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki
- Gabrics, Ettore (1910). Necropoli di età ellenistica a Teano dei Sidicini. *Monumenti Antichi* 20, 6–151
- García Castillero, Carlos (2000). *La formación del tema de presente primario osco-umbr.* Vitoria: Servicio Editorial Universidad del País Vasco
- Gignac, Francis Thomas (1976–1981). *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*. 2 vols. Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino-La Goliardica
- Graham, A. J. (1982a). The colonial expansion of Greece. In John Boardman and N. G. L. Hammond (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Vol. 3, Part 3:

Bibliography

- The Expansion of the Greek World, Eighth to Sixth Centuries BC*, 83–162. Second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- (1982b). The western Greeks. In John Boardman and N. G. L. Hammond (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Vol. 3, Part 3: *The Expansion of the Greek World, Eighth to Sixth Centuries BC*, 163–95. Second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Gualtieri, Maurizio and Paolo Poccetti (1990). Laminetta di piombo con iscrizione dal complesso A. In Maurizio Gualtieri and Helena Fracchia (eds.), *Roccagloriosa*. Vol. 1: *L'abitato: scavo e ricognizione topografica (1976–1986)*, 137–50. Naples: Publications de centre Jean Bérard
- (2001). Frammento di *tabula* bronzea con iscrizione osca dal pianoro centrale. In Maurizio Gualtieri and Helena Fracchia (eds.), *Roccagloriosa*. Vol. 2: *L'oppidum lucano e il territorio*, 187–295. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard
- Guzzo, Pier-Giovanni (1981). Su una corazza dalla ‘Magna Grecia’. *Museum Helveticum* 38, 55–61
- Hartmann, Markus (2005). *Die frühlateinischen Inschriften und ihre Datierung: Eine linguistisch-archäologisch-paläographische Untersuchung*. Bremen: Hempen Verlag
- Haspels, C. H. G. (1936). *Attic Black-figure Lekythoi*. Paris: De Boccard
- Horrocks, Geoffrey (2010). *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers*. Second edition. Malden, MA, Oxford and Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell
- Ihm, M. (1899). Additamenta ad corporis vol. IX et X. In *Ephemeris Epigraphica: Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum Supplementum*, Vol. 8, 1–221. Berlin: George Reimer
- Immerwahr, Henry R. (1990). *Attic Script: A Survey*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- International Phonetic Association (1999). *Handbook of the International Phonetic Association: A Guide to the Use of the International Phonetic Alphabet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Jasanoff, Jay H. (1983a). A rule of final syllables in Slavic. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 11, 139–49
- (1983b). Reply to Schmalstieg and Kortlandt. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 11, 187–90
- (2006 [2010]). The origin of the Latin gerund and gerundive: a new proposal. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 28, 195–208
- (2014). A note on the Slavic genitive plural. MS (www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~jasanoff/publications.html). Last accessed 1 May 2014
- Jeffery, L. H. and A. W. Johnston (1990). *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries B.C.* Second edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Jiménez Zamudio, Rafael (1986). *Estudio de dialecto peligno y su entorno lingüístico*. Salamanca: Universidad de León and Universidad de Salamanca
- Kajanto, Iiro (1965). *The Latin Cognomina*. Helsinki: Keskuskirjapaino
- Katz, Joshua T. (2006). The ‘urbi et orbi-rule’ revisited. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 34, 319–61

Bibliography

- Keaney, Anne Marie (1982). Καποροιννα. *Glotta* 60, 246
- Kortland, Frederik (1983). On final syllables in Slavic. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 11, 167–85
- Kretschmer, Paul (1894). *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften, ihrer Sprache nach untersucht*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann
- Kümmel, Martin Joachim (2013). Zur Endung des Genitivs Plural im Indoiranischen. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 118, 193–212
- La Regina, Adriano (2002). La formula onomastica osca in Lucania e nel Bruzzio. *Eutopia* 2.2, 57–69
- Langslow, David (2012). Integration, identity, and language shift: strengths and weaknesses of the ‘linguistic’ evidence. In S. T. Roselaar (ed.), *Processes of Integration and Identity Formation in the Roman Republic*, 289–309. Leiden: Brill.
- Lazzarini, Maria Letizia (1994). Una nuova *defixio* greca da Tiriolo. In *A.I.O.N. Sezione filologico-letteraria* 16 = A. C. Cassio and P. Poccetti (eds.), *Forme di religiosità e tradizioni sapienziali in Magna Grecia: Atti del convegno Napoli 14–15 dicembre 1993*, 163–9. Pisa and Rome: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali
- (2004). Lamina plumbea iscritta da Petelia. *Mediterraneo Antico* 7, 673–80
- (2009). Interazioni onomastiche nel Bruzio ionico. In Paolo Poccetti (ed.), *L’onomastica dell’Italia antica: Aspetti linguistici, storici, culturali, tipologici e classificatori*, 425–31. Rome: École Française de Rome
- Lazzaroni, Romano (1983). Contatti di lingue e di culture nell’Italia antica. Modelli egemoni e modelli subordinati nelle iscrizioni osche in grafia greca. *A.I.O.N. Annali del Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo Antico: Sezione linguistica* 5, 171–82
- (1985). Varianti grafiche e variante fonetiche nelle iscrizioni osche. Una questione di metodo. In Enrico Campanile (ed.), *Lingua e cultura degli Oschi*, 47–53. Pisa: Giardini Editori e Stampatori
- Lejeune, Michel (1970). Phonologie osque et graphie grecque. *Revue des Études Anciennes* 72, 271–315
- (1971). Inscriptions de Rossano di Vaglio 1971. *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*. Series 8, 26, 663–84
- (1972a). Phonologie osque et graphie grecque II. *Revue des Études Anciennes* 74, 5–13
- (1972b). **aisu-* ‘dieu’ et la quatrième déclinaison italique. *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris* 67, 129–37
- (1972c). *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien*. Paris: Klincksieck
- (1972d). Inscriptions de Rossano di Vaglio 1972. *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*. Series 8, 27, 399–414
- (1975). Réflexions sur la phonologie du vocalisme osque. *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris* 70, 233–51

Bibliography

- (1976). *L'anthroponymie osque*. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres'
- (1985). Notes de linguistique italique xxxvi. Inscription osque a Muro Lucano. *Revue des Études Latines* 63, 50–55
- (1990). *Méfitis d'après les dédicaces lucaniennes de Rossano di Vaglio*. Louvain-la-neuve: Peeters
- (1993). Notes osques. In Gerhard Meiser (ed.), *Indogermanica et Italica: Festschrift für Helmut Rix zum 65. Geburtstag*, 264–9. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
- Leumann, Manu (1977). *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*. Second edition. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung
- Lindsay, Wallace M. (ed.) (1913). *Sexti Pompei Festi: De verborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome, thewrekwianis copiis usus*. Leipzig: Teubner
- Lippolis, E., S. Garraffo and M. Nafissi (1995). *Culti greci in Occidente: Fonti scritte e documentazione archeologica*. Vol. 1: *Taranto*. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia
- Lo Porto, Felice Gino (1980). Medici pitagorici in una *defixio* greca da Metaponto. *La Parola del Passato* 35, 282–8
- Lomas, Kathryn (2004). Italy during the Roman Republic, 338–31 B.C. In Harriet I. Flower (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*, 199–224. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Luschi, Licia (2006). Mefitis Kaporoinna. In Domenico Caiazza (ed.), *Samnitice Loqui: Studi in onore di Aldo Prosdocimi per il premio 'I Sanniti'*, 259–85. Piedimonte Matese: Libri di arte scienza e cultura della Banca Capasso Antonio
- Mancini, Marco (2009). Il preterito latino tra continuità e discontinuità: *facio, fēcī, fefaked*. In Augusto Ancillotti and Alberto Calderini (eds.), *L'umbro e le altre lingue dell'Italia mediana antica: Atti del I Convegno Internazionale sugli Antichi Umbri. Gubbio, 20–22 settembre 2001*, 67–96. Perugia: Edizioni Jama
- (2014). Testi epigrafici e sociolinguistica storica: le 'defixiones' sannite. In Roberto Giacomelli and Adele Robbiati Bianchi (eds.), *Le lingue dell'Italia antica oltre il latino: lasciare parlare i testi. 29 Maggio 2007 (Istituto Lombardo - Accademia di Scienze e Lettere - Incontri di Studio 50)*, 29–61. Milan: Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere
- Manganaro, Giacomo (2004). Anagrafe di Leontinoi nel V secolo (a proposito di una tavoletta bronzea dedicatoria di V sec. a.C.). *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 149, 55–68
- Maras, Daniele (2012). Scientists declare the Fibula Praenestina and its inscription to be genuine 'beyond any reasonable doubt'. *Etruscan News* 14, 1, 20 (http://ancientstudies.fas.nyu.edu/docs/CP/963/EtruscanNewsVol14_2012_winter.pdf). Last accessed 14 January 2013
- Marchese, Maria Pia (1974). Lucani. *Studi Etruschi* 42, 401–28
- Martzloff, Vincent (2007). Les syntagmes picéniens *povaisis pidaitúpas, me{nt}fistrúí nemúnei, trebegies titúí*. Contribution à l'exégèse du cippe

Bibliography

- paléo-sabellique Te 5 (Penna San Andrea) à la lumière de l'inscription falisque archaïque de Cérès. *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 80, 63–104
- (2011). Les marques casuelles dans les documents paléo-sabelliques et la morphologie du génitif pluriel sud-picénien. In Michèle Fruyt, Michel Mazoyer and Dennis Pardee (eds.), *Grammatical Case in the Languages of the Middle East and Europe: Acts of the International Colloquium 'Variations, Concurrence et Evolution des Cas dans Divers Domaines Linguistiques'*, Paris, 2–4 April 2007, 189–215. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
- Mayser, Edwin and Hans Schmoll (1970). *Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit: Mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften*. Vol. 1.1: *Einleitung und Lautlehre*. Second edition. Berlin: Verlag Walter de Gruyter
- McDonald, Katherine (2012). The testament of Vibius Adiranus. *Journal of Roman Studies* 102, 40–55
- (2015). *Oscan in Southern Italy: Evaluating Language Contact in a Fragmentary Corpus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- McDonald, Katherine, Livia Tagliapietra and Nicholas Zair (2015). New readings of the multilingual Petelia curse tablet. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 195, 157–64
- McDonald, Katherine and Nicholas Zair (2012 [2013]). Oscan foupuoust and the Roccagloriosa law tablet. *Incontri Linguistici* 35, 31–48
- McLean, Bradley Hudson (2002). *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C.–A.D. 337)*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press
- Meiser, Gerhard (1986). *Lautgeschichte der umbrischen Sprache*. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
- (1987). Pälignisch, Latein und Südpikenisch. *Glotta* 45, 104–25
- (1993). Das Gerundivum im Spiegel der italischen Onomastik. In Frank Heidermanns, Helmut Rix and Elmar Seebold (eds.), *Sprachen und Schriften des antiken Mittelmeerraums: Festschrift für Jürgen Untermann zum 65. Geburtstag*, 254–68. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
- (1998). *Historische Laut- und Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft
- Merlin, Alfred (ed.) (1944). *Inscriptions latines de Tunisie*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France
- Miranda, E. (1990–1995). *Iscrizioni greche d'Italia: Napoli*. 2 vols. Rome: Edizioni Quasar
- Moretti, Luigi (1984). Epigramma per un atleta di Taranto. In Anonymous (ed.), *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano: Studi in onore di Achille Adriani*, 495–7. Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider

Bibliography

- Mullen, Alex (2012). Introduction. Multiple languages, multiple identities. In Alex Mullen and Patrick James (eds.), *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, 1–35. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- (2013). *Southern Gaul and the Mediterranean: Multilingualism and Multiple Identities in the Iron Age and Roman Periods*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Murano, Francesca (2013). *Le tabellae defixionum osche*. Pisa and Rome: Fabrizio Serra Editore
- Nava, Maria Luisa and Paolo Poccetti (2001). Il santuario lucano di Rossano di Vaglio. Una nuova dedica osca ad Ercole. *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité* 113, 95–122
- Nishimura, Kanehiro (2009). The orthographic and phonological interpretation of the Oscan praenomen marahis and related forms. In Kazuhiko Yoshida and Brent Vine (eds.), *East and West: Papers in Indo-European Studies*, 163–79. Bremen: Hempen Verlag
- (2012). Vowel reduction and deletion in Sabellic: a synchronic and diachronic interface. In Benedicte Nielsen Whitehead, Thomas Olander, Birgit Anette Olsen and Jens Elmegård Rasmussen (eds.), *The Sound of Indo-European: Phonetics, Phonemics and Morphophonemics*, 381–98. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press
- Nussbaum, Alan J. (1997). The ‘Saussure effect’ in Latin and Italic. In Alexander Lubotsky (ed.), *Sound Law and Analogy: Papers in Honor of Robert S. P. Beekes on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday*, 181–203. Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi
- Orioles, Vincenzo (1972). Su alcuni fenomeni di palatalizzazione e di assibilazione nelle lingue dell’Italia antica. *Studi Linguistici Salentini* 5, 69–100
- Penney, John H. W. (1988). The languages of Italy. In John Boardman, N. G. L. Hammond, D. M. Lewis, and M. Ostwald (eds.), *Cambridge Ancient History*. Vol. 4: *Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean c.525–479 B.C.*, 720–38. Second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- (2002). Notes on some Sabellic demonstratives. In Ina J. Hartmann and Andreas Willi (eds.), *Oxford University Working Papers in Linguistics, Philology and Phonetics* 7, 131–42. Oxford
- Poccetti, Paolo (1980). Nuovi contributi alla topografia della documentazione italica. *A.I.O.N. Annali del Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo Antico. Sezione linguistica* 2, 77–88
- (1984). Un Brettio a Cuma (nota a Ve 112). *Parola del Passato* 39, 43–7
- (1985). Nochmals zum oskischen Namen Maras. *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 20, 233–44
- (1988). *Per un’ identità culturale dei Brettii*. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo Antico
- (1993a). Nuova laminetta plumbea osca dal Bruzio. In *Crotone e la sua storia tra IV e III secolo a.C.*, 213–32. Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli

Bibliography

- 'Federico II', Dipartimento di Discipline Storiche: Centro di Studi per la Magna Grecia
- (ed.) (1993b). Atti della giornata di discussione su 'la *tabella defixionis* di Laos'. Napoli, 24 febbraio 1993. *A.I.O.N. Annali del Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo Antico: Sezione linguistica* 15, 113–90
- (2002). Note sulla declinazione italica dei temi in *-u*. *Incontri Linguistici* 25, 47–64
- (2005). Notes de linguistique italique. Nouvelle série 2. En marge de la nouvelle attestation du *perfectum* falisque *facēd/facet*: le latin de Préneste *vhevhaked* et la falisque *fifiked*. *Revue des Études Latines* 83, 27–35
- (2006a). Notes de linguistique italique. Nouvelle série. 3. L'attestation osque du terme pour 'consul' et le traitement de [ns] avec ses reflets latins et romans. *Revue des Études Latines* 84, 27–36
- (2006b). Sul paradigma del verbo 'fare' (< **dheh₁-*) nelle lingue dell'Italia antica. In Domenico Caiazza (ed.), *Samnitice loqui: Studi in onore di Aldo Prosdocimi per il premio 'I Sanniti'*, 91–112. Piedimonte Matese: Libri di arte scienza e cultura della Banca Capasso Antonio
- (2008). Notes de linguistique italique. Nouvelle série. 5. Une nouvelle inscription osque et le nom de *Venus*. *Revue des Études Latines* 86, 24–36
- (2009). Problemi antichi e dati nuovi: coincidenze di teonimi e di antroponimi nell'Italia antica. Una riflessione sulla classe dei 'teoforici' a partire da due elementi specifici. In Paolo Poccetti (ed.), *L'onomastica dell'Italia antica: Aspetti linguistici, storici, culturali, tipologici e classificatori*, 221–48. Rome: École Française de Rome
- (2010). Contacts et échanges technologiques entre Grecs et indigènes en Italie méridionale: langues et écritures au cours du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. In Henry Tréziny (ed.), *Grecs et indigènes de la Catalogne à la Mer Noire: Actes des rencontres du programme européen Ramses² (2006–2008)*, 659–78. Paris and Aix-en-Provence: Édition Errance and Centre Camille Julian
- (2014). *Bilingues Bruttaces*. Il plurilinguismo di una città della Magna Grecia attraverso i suoi testi: il caso di Petelia. In Roberto Giacomelli and Adele Robbiati Bianchi (eds.), *Le lingue dell'Italia antica oltre il latino: lasciare parlare i testi*, 29 Maggio 2007 (*Istituto Lombardo – Accademia di Scienze e Lettere – Incontri di Studio* 50), 73–109. Milan: Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere
- Prag, Jonathan R. W. (2006). *Poenus plane est* – but who were the 'Punickes'? *Papers of the British School at Rome* 74, 1–37
- Prosdocimi, Aldo L. (2002). Il genitivo singolare dei temi in *-o-* nelle varietà italiche (osco, sannita, umbro, sudpiceno, etc.). *Incontri Linguistici* 25, 65–76
- Provost, Michel and Christine Mennessier-Jouannet (eds.) (1994). *Carte archéologique de la Gaule 63/1: Clermont-Ferrand*. Paris: Académie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Ministère de la Culture

Bibliography

- Pugliese Carratelli, Giovanni (1983–1984). Dedicata a Demeter da Santa Maria d'Anglona. *Atti della Società Magna Grecia New Series* 24–25, 213–14
- (1992). Gli oggetti in metallo. In E. Greco and Pier Giovanni Guzzo (eds.), *Laos II: La tomba a camera di Marcellina*, 17–19. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia
- Purcell, Nicholas (1994). South Italy in the fourth century B.C. In D. M. Lewis, John Boardman, Simon Hornblower and M. Ostwald (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Vol. 6: *The Fourth Century BC*, 381–403. Second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Richter, Gisela M. A. (1927). Two theatre vases. *The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York* 22, 54, 56–8
- Rix, Helmut (1976). Die umbrischen Infinitive auf *-fi* und die urindogermanische Infinitivendung *-dhiōi*. In Anna Morpurgo Davies and Wolfgang Meid (eds.), *Studies in Greek, Italic, and Indo-European Linguistics Offered to Leonard R. Palmer on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday June 5, 1976*, 319–31. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
- (1979). Review of Lejeune (1976). *Kratylos* 24, 107–16
- (1986). Die Endung des Akkusativ Plural commune im Oskischen. In Annemarie Etter (ed.), *O-o-pe-ro-si. Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag*, 583–97. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter
- (1992). Zur Entstehung des lateinischen Perfektparadigmas. In Oswald Panagl and Thomas Krisch (eds.), *Latein und Indogermanisch: Akten des Kolloquiums der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Salzburg, 23.–26. September 1986*, 221–40. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
- (1993). Osk. *úpsannam* – *uupsens* und Zugehöriges. In Frank Heidermanns, Helmut Rix and Elmar Seebold (eds.), *Sprachen und Schriften des antiken Mittelmeerraums: Festschrift für Jürgen Untermann zum 65. Geburtstag*, 329–48. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
- (1996). Variazioni locali in Oско. In Loretta Del Tutto Palma (ed.), *La Tavola di Agnone nel Contesto Italo: Convegno di Studio. Agnone, 13–15 aprile 1994*, 243–61. Florence: Leo S. Olschki
- (1999a). Schwach charakterisierte lateinische Präsensstämme zu Set-Wurzeln mit Vollstufe I. In Heiner Eichner and Hans Christian Luschützky (eds.), *Compositiones Indogermanicae in Memoriam Jochem Schindler*, 515–35. Prague: Enigma Corporation
- (1999b). Oskisch *vereiia-* à la Mommsen. In Jürgen Habisreiter, Robert Plath and Sabine Ziegler (eds.), *Gering und doch von Herzen: 25 indogermanistische Beiträge. Bernhard Forssman zum 65. Geburtstag*, 237–57. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag
- (2002). *Sabellische Texte: Die Texte des Oskischen, Umbrischen und Südpikenischen*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter
- Rostowzew, M. (1903). *Tesserarum Urbis Romae et Suburbi Plumbeorum Sylloge*. St Petersburg: L'Académie Impériale des Sciences

Bibliography

- Rutkowska, Hanna and Paul Rössler (2012). Orthographic variables. In Juan Manuel Hernández-Campoy and Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre (eds.), *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics*, 213–36. Malden, MA, Oxford and Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell
- Salomies, Olli (1987). *Die römischen Vornamen: Studien zur römischen Namengebung*. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica
- (2008). Les prénoms italiques: un bilan de presque vingt ans après la publication de *Vornamen*. In Paolo Poccetti (ed.), *Les prénoms de l'Italie antique. Journée d'études Lyon, 26 Janvier 2004*, 15–38. Pisa and Rome: Fabrizio Serra Editore
- Särstrom, Margit (1940). *A Study in the Coinage of the Mamertines*. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup
- Schmidt, Margot (1984). Hermes als Seelengeleiter auf einer apulischen Lutrophoros in Basel. *Antike Kunst* 27, 34–40
- Schrijver, Peter (1991). *The Reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals in Latin*. Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi
- (2003). Athematic *i*-presents: the Italic and Celtic evidence. *Incontri Linguistici* 26, 59–86
- Schulze, Wilhelm (1904). *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung
- Schwyzler, Eduard (1959). *Griechische Grammatik: Auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns Griechischer Grammatik*. Vol. 1: *Allgemeiner Teil: Lautlehre. Wortbildung. Flexion*. Third edition. Munich: C. H. Beck
- Seidl, Christian (1994). Gemeinsabellich und Vulgärlateinisch: Der Vokalismus. In George E. Dunkel, Gisela Meyer, Salvatore Scarlata and Christian Seidl (eds.), *Früh-, Mittel-, Spätindogermanisch: Akten der ix. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 5. bis 9. Oktober 1992 in Zürich*, 349–70. Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag
- Sihler, Andrew (1995). *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Skutsch, Otto (1985). *The Annals of Q. Ennius*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Smith, Cecil H (1896). *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*. Vol. 3: *Vases of the Finest Period*. London: British Museum
- Sogliano, A. (1887). Curti. *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità communicate alla R. Accademia dei Lincei*, 560–61
- Solin, Heikki and Olli Salomies (1994). *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*. Second edition. Hildesheim, Zurich and New York: Olms-Weidmann
- Stuart-Smith, Jane (2004). *Phonetics and Phonology: Sound Change in Italic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Sturtevant, Edgar H. (1940). *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*. Second edition. Philadelphia, PA: Linguistic Society of America
- Threatte, Leslie (1980). *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*. Vol. 1: *Phonology*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter

Bibliography

- Thumb, Albert, E. Kieckers and A. Scherer (1932–1959). *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*. Heidelberg: C. Winter
- Tikkanen, Karin (2011). *A Sabellian Case Grammar*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter
- Trendall, A. D. (1967). *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- (1987). *The Red-Figured Vases of Paestum*. Rome: British School at Rome
- Trendall, A. D. and Alexander Cambitoglou (1978–1982). *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia*. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- (1983). *First Supplement to The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia*. London: University of London
- (1991–1992). *Second Supplement to The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia*. 3 vols. London: University of London
- Untermann, Jürgen (2000). *Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter
- Vecchio, Luigi (2003). *Le iscrizioni greche di Velia*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
- Vetter, Emil (1953). *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*. Vol. 1: *Texte mit Erklärung, Glossen, Wörterverzeichnis*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Carl Winter
- Vine, Brent (1998). *Aeolic ὀρεπετον and Deverbative *-etó- in Greek and Indo-European*. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
- von Planta, Robert (1892–1897). *Grammatik der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte*. 2 vols. Strasbourg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner
- (1893). Eine dritte oskische Bleitafel. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 2, 435–41
- Wachter, Rudolf (1987). *Altlateinische Inschriften*. Bern, Frankfurt and New York: Peter Lang
- (2010). Inscriptions. In Egbert J. Bakker (ed.), *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, 47–61. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell
- Wallace, Rex E. (1985). Volscian *sepu*/Oscan *sipus*. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 90, 123–8
- (1988). Dialectal Latin fundatid, proiectatid, parentatid. *Glotta* 66, 211–20
- (2007). *The Sabellian Languages of Ancient Italy*. Munich: Lincom
- (2008). *Zikh Rasna: A Manual of the Etruscan Language and Inscriptions*. Ann Arbor and New York: Beech Stave Press
- (2011). The Latin alphabet and orthography. In James Clackson (ed.), *A Companion to the Latin Language*, 9–28. Malden, MA, Oxford and Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell
- Walters, H. B. (ed.) (1896). *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*. Vol. 4: *Vases of the Latest Period*. London: British Museum
- (ed.) (1931). *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Great Britain Fascicule 8; British Museum (Department of Greek and Latin Antiquities) Fascicule 6*. London: British Museum

Bibliography

- Weiss, Michael (1998). On some problems of final syllables in South Picene. In Jay Jasanoff, H. Craig Melchert and Lisi Oliver (eds.), *Mir Curad: Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins*, 703–15. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
- (2002). Observations on the South Picene inscription TE 1 (S. Omero). In Mark R. V. Southern (ed.), *Indo-European Perspectives*, 351–66. Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Man
- (2009). *Outline of the Historical and Comparative Grammar of Latin*. Ann Arbor and New York: Beech Stave Press
- (2010). *Language and Ritual in Sabellic Italy: The Ritual Complex of the Third and Fourth Tabulae Iguvinae*. Leiden and Boston: Brill
- Whatmough, Joshua (1970). *The Dialects of Ancient Gaul*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Williams, Nicholas (2011). Middle and Late Cornish. In Elmar Ternes (ed.), *Brythonic Celtic – Britannisches Keltisch: From Medieval British to Modern Breton*, 237–357. Bremen: Hemen Verlag
- Zair, Nicholas (2012a). *The Reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals in Celtic*. Leiden and Boston: Brill
- (2012b). Review of Dupraz (2012). *Linguist List* 23.3105, July 11 (<http://linguistlist.org/issues/23/23-3015.html>)
- (2013). Individualism in ‘Oscan-Greek’ orthography. In Esther-Miriam Wagner, Ben Outhwaite and Bettina Beinhoff (eds.), *Scribes as Agents of Language Change*, 217–26. Berlin: De Gruyter
- (2014a). The future perfect in Oscan and Umbrian, and the *ō*-perfect in South Picene. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 112, 367–85
- (2014b). The treatment(s) of *-u- after a coronal in Oscan: dialect variation and chronology. *Indo-European Linguistics* 2, 112–25
- Zimmerman, Jean-Louis (1979). Une cuirasse de Grand Grèce. *Museum Helveticum* 36, 177–84

INDEX OF WORDS

Oscan

Greek alphabet

- αβολιη[ς], 119, 129, 186
 αρδαις, 156
 αρδειες, 49, 50, 151, 186, 189, 204, 207, 225
 αρελιος, 21, 186, 213
 αρεις, 49, 186
 αηπε[, 28, 147, 186
 αιζνιω, 106, 107, 109, 151, 186, 187, 204
 αισ(ωις), 187
 ακτουδ, 187
 αλαφιω, 187
 αλαφιου, 22, 119, 187
 [2]+[1]αναρηι, 188
 αναφακετ, 32, 188, 190
 αν[α]φεδ, 161, 188, 192
 αππελλουνηι, 189
 αππελλ[ο]ννηι, 189
 [α]ππελλουνηις, 189
 αραδιαν, 189
 αραξ, 189
 αρριες, 189
 αρροντιες, 76, 189
 ατφαματτεν[ς], 176, 189
 αυδαδο, 189
 αυδα<φ>ο, 189
 αυδαις, 189
 αυτ, 189
 αυτι, 190
 αφαμα[τεδ], 26, 177, 190
 αφαματεδ, 26, 158, 176, 190
 αφακειτ, 32, 188, 190
 αφαματετ, 104, 135, 170, 177, 190, 204
 α[φ]αματομ, 28, 190
 βαντινω, 190
 βιφιδισ, 47, 205
 βοθρονι[(ο)ν], 28, 190
 βοφ{+}ονι[ν], 190
 βρα{ι}της, 123, 190
 βρατεις, 190
 βρατηις, 190
 βρατωμ, 123, 190, 195
 βρειγ, 28, 190
 γαυκιες, 191
 <γ>αφιμ, 191
 γαφιν, 191
 γαφισ, 191
 [γ]αφισ, 119, 191
 [γ]αφ[ις], 191
 γν[αφ]ις, 191
 [γν]αφ[ις], 191
 γναι, 191
 γναιφ(ς), 191
 γναρ, 191
 γναυ(ς), 191
 δαβενς, 192
 δαφενς, 104, 188, 192
 δατα{ι}ς, 123
 δεδετ, 28, 135, 192
 δεδετ[τ], 28, 192
 δειφιν(ο), 192
 δεκιρες, 28, 192
 διοφηι, 193
 διοφιοι, 124, 125, 129, 192, 193
 διομανα[ς], 58, 193
 διουφει, 59, 146, 193
 διριος, 21, 28, 83, 120, 193
 διωφηις, 58, 193, 199, 201
 διωφιας, 58, 124, 125, 129, 192, 193
 δουνακλωμ, 33, 193
 δουνωμ, 193
 εδει, 28, 193, 194
 εη, 147, 193
 ειφει, 194
 ειφεικ, 28, 194
 ειζιδομ, 28, 106, 107, 109, 170, 194, 204
 ειηειοι, 28, 193, 194
 ειηοι, 147

Index of words

- ΕΙΝΕΙΜ, 194
 ΕΙΝ(ΕΙΜ), 194, 204, 223
 ΕΙΝΕΜ, 194, 201
 ΕΙΟΚ, 194, 195
 ΕΙΣΕΙΔΟΜ, 28, 32, 194
 ΕΙΣΕΙΣ, 194, 195, 196, 201
 ΕΚΟ, 195
 ΕΚΣ, 195
 ΕΛ[Γ]ΟΜ, xi, 195
 ΕΜΑΥΤΟ, 195, 209
 ΕΡΟΥΚ<Ι>Η(Ι)Σ, 120, 195
 ΕΡΟΥΚ<Ι>Η<Ι>Σ, 50, 76, 216
 ΕΡΟΥΚΤΗ(Ι)Σ, 195
 ΕΡΟΥΚΤΗ<Ι>Σ, 216
 ΕΣΟΤ, 28, 110, 195, 196
 <ΕΣ>ΣΟΥΦ, 196
 ΕΣΤΟΥΔ, 196
 ΕΤ, 21, 197
 ΕΤ/ΗΣ, 21, 28, 29, 161, 197, 203, 212
 ΦΑΛΕ, 32, 197
 ΦΑΡΙΑΝ, 120, 197
 ΦΑΡΙΕ(Ι)Σ, 50, 120, 122, 197, 198
 ΦΑΡ(ΙV), 198
 ΦΑΦΟΥΣ[Τ], 198
 ΦΕΖΙΣ, 27, 106, 107, 108, 109, 171, 198
 ΦΕΙ, 28, 198
 ΦΕΝΖΗ, 106, 107, 108, 109, 198
 ΦΕΡΕΚΟ, 29, 198
 ΦΕΡΣΟΡΕΙ, 198
 ΦΗΡΙΝΕΙΣ, 30
 ΦΙΒΙΑΝ, 198
 ΦΙΒΙΝ, 198
 ΦΙΒΙΣ, 198
 ΦΙΒΙ(Σ), 168, 198
 [Φ]ΙΒΙΣ, 198
 ΦΙΥΝΛΕΝΙΣ, 158, 198, 199
 ΦΙΡΙΝΕΙΣ, 30, 168, 199
 ΦΟΛΛΟΗΩΜ, 4, 147, 199
 ΦΟΥΡΟΥΣΤ, 199
 ΖΩΦΗ, 106, 107, 109, 193, 199
 ΗΑΦΕΙΤΟΥΔ, 147, 199
 ΗΕΡΕΚΛΕΙΣ, 32, 147, 199
 ΗΕΡΕΚΛΩΙ, 147, 199
 <Η>ΕΡΕΣΤ, xii, 120, 127, 154, 200, 203
 (Η)ΕΡΙΤΗΣ, xi, 119, 161, 200
 ΗΕΡΙΣ, 147, 200
 ΗΗΙΡ(ΕΝΗΙΣ), 122, 123, 147, 200
 ΗΗΙΡΕΝΣ, 32, 122, 123, 147, 200
 ΗΙΔ<Α>Σ, 29, 147, 200
 <Η>ΙΠΠΕΙΔ, xi, 74, 154, 200
 <Η>ΟΡΙΟΜ, xi, 22, 120, 200, 207
 <Η>ΟΡΤΗΙΣ, xi, 120, 201
 <Η>ΟΡΤΟΡΙΕΣ, 153
]ΗΙΣ, 201
 ΗΙΣΟΥ(Μ), 21, 23, 74, 82, 194, 195, 197, 201
 ΗΨΟΥ, 195, 201
 ΙΑΦ, 194, 195, 201
]Ι[Ι]ΕΔΕΙΣΤ, 201
]Ι[Ι]ΗΙΣ, 201
 ΙΜΕΣ, 29, 49, 201
 Ι(ΝΙ)Μ, 21, 194, 201
]ΙΟΜ, 201
 ΙΟΥΡΗ, 59, 111, 193, 201
 ΙΟΥΦΕΤΟΥΔ, 29, 201
 ΚΑΦΝΟΤΟ, 146, 201, 209
 ΚΑΗΑΣ, 147, 153, 201
 ΚΑΙ {ΑΙ}Δ<Ι>Ω, 202
 ΚΑΙΔΙΚΙΣ, 202
 ΚΑΙΔΙΚΩ, 122, 202
 ΚΑΙ<Δ>Ι<Κ>Ω, 202
 ΚΑΛΙΝΙΣ, 29, 202
 ΚΑΜΠΣΑΝΑΣ, 139, 143, 161, 202
 ΚΑΜΠΤΣΑΝΑΣ, 202
 ΚΑΠΙΔΙΤΩΜ, 202
 ΚΑΠΤΟΡΙΝΝΑ[Ι], 121, 122, 123, 124, 202
 ΚΑΡΙΣ, 203
 ΚΑΦΙΡΙΩ, 21
 ΚΕΝΣΟΡΤΑΤΗ, 16, 101, 203, 221
 ΚΕΡΕΣΤ, xii, 200, 203
 ΚΕΡΡΙΝΟΜ, 22, 203,
 ΚΡΑΙΣΤΟΡ, 163, 203
 ΚΡ[Α]ΙΣΤΟΡ, 163, 203
 ΚΗΘΟΜΟΙ, 147, 203
]ΚΗΣ, 203
 ΚΗΣ, 29, 197, 203
 ΚΛΑΦΔΙΣ, 203
 ΚΛΟΦΑΤΗΣ, 203
 ΚΛΟΦΑΤΣ, 109, 148, 203
 <Κ>ΛΟΠΟΥΣΤ, 204
]ΚΟΝΟΜ, 29, 204
 ΚΟΤΤΕΙΗΣ, 29, 50, 91, 151, 204
 ΚΩ[ΡΟ], 204
 ΚΩΣΣΑΝΩ, 204
 ΚΩΣ(Τ)ΙΤ, 16, 196, 204
 ΛΑΝΦΗΙΣ, 168, 204

Index of words

- λεικεῖτ, 204
 λιο{κα}κεῖτ, 135, 204
 λοῦκεις, 123, 205, 206
 λοῖκες, 50, 120, 123, 205
 (λ)οικησις, 29
 λοικιν, 123, 205
 λοικ(ις), 123, 205
 λουκανομ, 33, 40, 205
 λωῤκ(ις), 205
 λωῤκεις, 33, 58, 205, 206
 λωῤκτις, 124, 183, 206, 215
 μαῖησις, 206
 μαῖ[-ʔ-]ησις, 206
 μαῖμ, 29, 206
 μαῖομ, 29
 μαῖσις, 49, 206
 μαῖσιμ, 201
 μαμερεκῖς, 206
 μαμερεκῖεις, 148
 μαμερεκς, 141
 [μ]αμερεκς, 139, 141, 206
 μαμερεξ, 148, 206
 μαμερτεῖ, 206
 μαμερτινο, 58, 206
 μαμερτινο, 58, 206
 μαμερτινουμ, 19, 206
 μαμερτιοῖ, 121
 μαμερτοῖ, 122
 μα]μερτοῖ, 122, 207
 μαμερττοῖ, 121, 122, 207
 μανο[υμ, 29, 207
 μαραειν, 50, 148, 149, 151, 153, 207
 μαραθῖς, 147, 148, 149, 151, 153, 156, 189, 207, 213
 μαρας, 207, 213
 μαρ[α]ς, 207
 μαρα(ς), 207
 μ]αχερη, 207
 μαχιες, 50
 μεβῖτῖ, 208
 με[δδειξ, 207
 μεδδειξ, 141, 207, 208
 μεδδες, 207,
 με]δδες, 207
 με]δδειξ, 207
 μεδδῖκεν, 31, 121, 122, 208
 μεδδῖκα[τεν, 208
 μεδεκαν, 21, 23, 189, 208
 μεδεκον, 21, 23, 207
 μεδῖκαῖ, 208
 μεῖσι, 208
 μεῖν[, 29, 208
 μεταποντινας, 32, 208
 μετσεδ, 16, 208
 με[ι]ταναι, 209
 μεῖτῖανοῖ, 208
 μεῖ[τ]ανοῖ, 208
 μεῖτῖει, 208
 μεῖτῖη, 208
 μεῖτῖη[ι], 209
 μεῖτῖη, 208
 μεῖτῖι[, 120, 208
 μῖναδο, 209
 μῖνα<δ>ο, 209
 μῖνακο, 21, 209
 μῖνακος, 21
 μῖνας, 109, 209
 μ[ι]νας, 109, 209
 μῖνα<τ>ο, 209
 μῖνῖησις, 119, 209
 μῖνῖς, 205, 209
]μωνωμ, 209
 ν, 213
 νανονῖς, 63, 209
 νειπῖ, 29, 209
 νε[ιπ, 29, 209
 νετεῖς, 32, 210
 νῖυμσδιησις, 33, 46, 76, 139, 140, 141, 210
 νῖυ]ν{π}ψηδ[ις, 29, 132, 143, 210
 νοῖο, 124, 125, 129, 210
 νομψῖς, 23, 79, 107, 132, 138, 140, 141, 210, 211
 νοψ(ι)α(ν), 23, 79, 122, 124, 132, 133, 138, 211
 νοψιν, 79, 132, 133, 138, 210, 213
 νοψῖς, 22
 νοψ(ις), 213
]νς, 197
 νυ[μψδαναι], 138, 211
 νυμψοῖ, 138, 211
 νυμψιμ, 22, 33, 76, 132, 138, 210
 νυμψοῖ, 211
 οῖ(ν), 23, 211
 οῖς, 211
 οῖ(ς), 211, 227
 ο(η)ταῖς, 30
 οῖναι, 211
]οκει+[, 29, 211

Index of words

- οκ(ι)ης, 29, 122, 124, 211
]ομ, 201
 οπιες, 119, 211, 212
 οπισ, 168, 212
 <ο>πσανω, 212, 223, 227
 ορτοριες, xi, 212
]ουδ, 212
 ουπιδ, 29, 212
 ουπσενς, 139, 141, 213
 [ο]υ[πσ]ενς, 29
]ους, 212
 ουσος, 21, 29, 83, 193, 212
]ουστ, 212
 ουτιαναι, 29, 124, 213
 ου]τιαναι, 29, 213
 ουψε, 168, 213
 οψι, 143
 οψιον, 22, 198, 213
 οψις, 22
 οψ(ις), 29, 213
]of, 213
 π(?), 21, 213
 πααπ[-?], 139, 140, 141, 158
 παφελιος, 21, 29, 83, 186, 193, 213
 πακρής, 32, 121, 213
 πακ<ρ>ης, 215
 πακ<ρ>η<ι>ς, 213, 214, 215
 πακ<ρ><ι>ης, 215
 πακρῶ, 124, 125, 129, 214
 πακιδιες, 47
 πακίς, 161, 214, 215
 πακ(ις), 23
 πακολ, 161, 214, 215
 πακτη/ις, 216
 πακτης, 121, 195, 206, 214, 215
 πακτηη<ι>ς, 50, 121, 161, 215, 216
 παντουδ, 216
 πεηεδ, 32, 73, 148, 152, 153, 156, 216, 217, 218, 219
 πεηετεῖς, 32, 74, 147, 152, 153, 156, 171, 217, 218
 πετιδς, 47
 πιζηι, 107, 218
 πις, 218
 πισπιτ, 21, 133, 219
 πιω, 153, 219
 πλαμετοδ, 219
 πλασος, 110, 219
 πλατορ, 29, 219
 πλατωρ, 168, 219
 ποιαδ, 219
 ποκιδ(ιης), 47, 219
 ποκκαπιδ, 219
 ποκ]καπιδ, 219
 πολλιες, 22, 48, 219
 πολλ[ι]ς, 219
 πομπτιες, 58, 141, 220
 πονδιου[μ, 220
 ποπεδ[ι(ο)μ], 47, 220
 πο]υκελ, 193, 194
 πους, 109, 212, 220
 προφα[τεδ, 221
 προ[ffεδ, 29, 220
 πρωΓατεδ, 104, 135, 170, 204, 220, 221
 πωμπονις, 63, 221
 πωμφοκ(ια), 29, 104, 221
 πωτ, 199, 202, 221, 223
 ρεγο(μ), 23, 74, 82, 83, 204, 212, 221
 ρεητ[ε, 147, 221
 ρεκινομ, 29, 221
 ρεκος, 29, 161, 221
 σαβιδι(ν), 22, 23, 222
 σαβιδιον, 22, 47, 101, 102, 222
 σαβιδι(ον), 222
 σακαρακιδιμαι, 19
 σακορο, 58, 222
 σαλαρς, 222
 σεγονω, 204, 220
 σενατεις, 158, 170, 204
 σεναττις, 222
 σενα]ττις, 222
 σερευκιδιμαμ, 222
 σερευ]κιδιμο, 222
 σετ, 197
 σετ/ης, 28, 197
 σκαλαπονιες, 63, 222
 σκ]αλαπονις, 63, 222
 σκαφιριω, 21, 121, 222
 σολλομ, 21, 222
 σοροφωμ, 223
 σουφεν, 59, 223
 σπεδι(ν), 23
 σπελ(ι)αν, 122, 223
 σπελιν, 223
 σπελλης, 223
 σπελλ[ης], 223
 σπυρ(ις), 168
 σπυ(ρις), 168

Index of words

σταβαλανο, 23, 99, 104, 204, 223
 σταβαλανο(μ), 223
 σταλλιες, 224
 στ]αλλιες, 224
 στατιες, 209, 224
 στα(τιης), 224
 στατιν, 224
 στατιο, 120, 121, 209, 224
 στατις, 22, 224
 [σ]τατις, 30, 224
 στατιω, 121, 224
 σταττιης, 224
 σ]ταττιης, 224
 στεννηις, 224
 συπ, 32, 76, 77, 78, 224
 συριες, 224
]τ, 135, 224
 <τ>{αν}αγγινουδ, 174, 224
 τανγινουδ, 158, 224
 τανγι]γουδ, 30
 [τανγιν]ο<δ>, 224
 (τ)ανγινουτ, 135, 170, 204, 224
 ταυριανουμ, 225
 ταυρομ, 225
 τιο]μ, 195
]τιοf, 225
 τιτιδιες, 47, 225
]τουδ, 225
 τουρειεις, 29, 50, 79, 151, 225
 τουτεικεις, 225
 τουτ]εικουδ, 225
 τρεβας, 22, 109, 148, 220, 225
 τρεβατιες, 22, 23, 148, 225
 τρεβις, 23, 225
 τρε<β>ω, 121, 209, 225, 226
 τρεδω, 209
 τρειβιφομ, 29, 73, 226
 τρειβ[ωμ, 73, 226
 τρειπκατομ, 29, 73, 226
 τρι[οπερτ], 29, 226
 τω<φ>τ[ο], 58, 226
 τωφτο, 58, 226
 υ[φiς], 200
]υκεις, 226
]υξ, 226
 υπ(ι)λ, 29, 226
 φοινι[κiς], 99, 227
 ωλ+[, 227
]+ωμ, 227

(ω)πσανω, 212, 227
 ουδδιηις, 33, 59, 121, 122,
 227
 φακτιεδ, 29, 135, 227
 φατοφε, 227
 φατ[οφ]οι, 227
 φειρα[, 29, 193, 194, 227
 φεστιες, 227
 φλουσοι, 227
 φουστ, 221, 228

Latin alphabet

actud, 133, 187
aisernim, 2
allam, 114
allo, 114,
a<|>trud, 133
amiricatud, 133
amnud, 133
amprufid, 133
ancensto, 130
aut, 189
bansae, 114, 182
bansa[e], 114, 182
ansae, 114, 182
bantins, 190
brateis, 190
caedcies, 48, 202
castrid, 8, 133
censamur, 130
censas, 130, 222
censaum, 16, 130
censazet, 130
censtom, 130
censtur, 130,
contrud, 133
[c]o<n>[tr]ud, 133
dat, 133, 192
deiuaid, 133, 227
deiuatud, 133
dolud, 133
[dol]ud, 133
egmad, 133
egmazum, 106
eh, 193
eisucen, 83
eizazunc, 106
eizeic, 83
eizeis, 194

Index of words

eizois, 83
estud, 133, 197
esuf, 196
ex, 195
factud, 133, 199
facus, 188
<f>acus, 221
famelo, 114
fefacid, 133, 188, 227
fefacust, 188, 227
fuid, 133
[fi]id, 133
fust, 222, 228
<f>ust, 221, 228
hafie{i}st, 199
herenneis, 116
herest, 114, 127, 200
heř[est], 114
hipid, 133, 200
<h>ipid, 133
ioc, 194
ionc, 83
iusc, 83
ladinod, 2
licitud, 133
ligud, 133
malud, 133
manim, 207
meddis, 207
meddixud, 114, 133, 182
medicatud, 133
medicim, 208
minstreis, 130
mistreis, 130
<m>istreis, 130
neip, 209
neirtis, 123
nesimum, 68
nī, 210
nī, 139
pantes, 50, 222
pis, 218
platorius, 219
[p]ocapid, 133, 219
pocapit, 133, 219
pod, 133, 221
poizad, 133
polies, 219, 220
pous, 220

praesentid, 133
preiuatud, 133
pruhipid, 133
pus, 220
senateis, 222
spentud, 133
tadait, 133
tanginud, 133
titieis, 225
toutad, 133
toutico, 225
touto, 226
zicel[ei], 106, 111
zicolois, 111
zicolom, 68, 110
zico(lom), 110
ziculud, 111, 133
zoveş, 50, 106, 110, 193

Oscan alphabet

aamanaffed, 188, 190, 192
adpúd, 189, 190
ahiis, 150
ahvdiú, 113
aídil, 215
aídil, 215
aisu{s}is, 187
ǵáttíúm, 113
akudunniad, 113
amviannud, 150
amvianud, 150
amvi[anud], 150
anagtiai, 113
appellunejs, 189
are(n)tiķ[ai], 132, 189
arent{ikai}, 189
arentikā[i], 189
arkiia, 126
arruntiis, 189
aukīl, 215
avdiis, 186, 189
avia, 129
ǵvt, 189
banttiei[s], 113
berieis, 119
bivellis, 129
braateis, 190
dadid, 192
damsennias, 113

Index of words

- deded, 192
 degetasiús, 113
 de(f)vaí, 50
 deivinais, 192
 deketasiúi, 113
 dekis, 149,
 dekítiúd, 113
 dekkiis, 119
 dekkviarím, 125, 129, 214
 dekmanniús, 113
 [d]iikúlús[s], 111
 diíviiai, 128
 diúveí, 110, 193
 diuvia[s], 110, 129, 192
 diuvia[s], 110, 129
 diuvil(am), 110
 diuvilam, 110
 duiéis, 151
 dunat, 188,
 dunat(ted), 188
 dunúm, 76, 193
 eaf, 194
 eestínt, 130, 163, 187, 194,
 204
 eiseís, 83, 194
 eisunk, 194
 eitiuvad, 113
 eitiuy[ad], 113
 eitiuvam, 113
 eitiv(ad), 78
 ekík, 196,
 ekss, 195
 ekúk, 195
 esídum, 194
 esskazsiúm, 113, 129
 essuf, 196
 estud, 163, 197
 esu(m), 23
 faamat, 186
 faamated, 104, 158, 189, 190
 fakiiad, 126, 128,
 fakiiad, 126, 127, 128, 188
 falenias, 113
 famatted, 189, 190
 f(a)m(e)l, 215
 fatíum, 150
 fatuveís, 227
 feihúis, 151
 feihúss, 151
 [f]errins, 192
 fiíet, 126, 129, 131, 218
 fiísíais, 113
 fjísíais, 113
 fisíais, 113
 flagiúi, 55, 113
 flagiúi, 113
 fluusaí, 228
 f<|>uusasiaís, 113
 fratrúm, 67
 fraþrúm, 67
 frentiaís, 113
 fruktatiuf, 8, 113
 fust, 228
 gaavieís, 129, 191
 [ga]avieís, 49, 151
 gaviis, 129
 g(avis), 158
 gnaivs, 191
 heí(renis), 116
 heíi(s), 151
 heíis, 151
 heírene(ís), 116
 heírennis, 47, 117
 heírens, 32, 47, 116, 200
 hellevjis, 129
 hereiis, 49, 50
 herekleis, 200
 hereklúi, 200
 herenni(ís), 116
 herentateí, 130
 heretatei, 129
 herettates, 50
 heriam, 115
 heriiad, 126, 127, 128
 heriieis, 49, 200
 heriieis, 49, 200
 húrtín, 223
 húsdiis, 47
 húsidiis, 47
 íak, 150
 ídik, 196,
 iiuk, 150, 194, 195
 íním, 194
 +ínnianúi, 113
 ísídum, 194
 íu(s)su, 150
 íúk, 150, 194
 iúkleí, 110

Index of words

- fussu, 150
 iuvei, 56, 110
 iúvei, 110, 193
 iúveis, 110, 193
 iúvias, 125
 iúviass, 110, 129
 iúviia, 125
 iúviia(m), 110, 128, 192
 iúvil(as), 110
 iúvil(ú), 110
 iúvil(ú), 110
 iúvilam, 110
 iúvilas, 56, 110
 iúvilas, 56, 110
 kahad, 151, 202
 kaías, 151
 kaíl, 215
 kalúvieis, 129
 kaļúvieis, 129
 kanuties, 50
 kari(s), 203
 kastrikiéis, 119
 keenzstur, 107, 130
 kenssurineis, 130
 kenssur, 107, 130
 kerí, 203
 kerí(neis), 203
 kerí(ns), 203
 kerí(ns), 203
 kerríiai, 150
 kerríiais, 150
 kerríiín, 150, 153
 kerríiui, 150, 218
 kerríuiis, 150
 kersnaġias, 115
 kersna[s]ias, 115
 kersnaġias, 115
 kerss<n>asias, 113, 163
 kerssnaís, 163
 klar[is], 158
 kluvatiis, 148
 klú[vatiis], 203
 kluvatiium, 119
 kluv[az], 203
 kú[súl], 130
 kúmbenni[e]i[s], 113
 kúmbennieis, 113
 kúnsíf, 130
 kúru, 204
 kúsúl, 130
 kvaísstur, 163, 203
 kvaísstur, 163
 [k]vaísstur, 163
 kva]ísstur, 163
 kvaísturei, 163
 kvíntieis, 126
 legú, 67
 legú(m), 67
 legú(túm), 67
 líkítud, 77
 limu(m), 23
 luisarifs, 100
 lúkídel, 215
 lúvikis, 123, 129, 205
 lúvkanateis, 205
 l(úvkieís), 158
 lúvkis, 123, 205
 lúvkiúf, 113
 mageís, 148
 magiium, 119
 magiú, 113
 mahiis, 49
]mahii[s], 151
 maíeis, 206
 ĩaíieis, 151
 [m]aíieis, 151
 maiiúf, 151
 maís, 49, 148, 149, 150, 151, 206
 mamert{-}tġaís, 113
 mamertiuf, 56, 113
 mamerttiais, 113, 117, 207
 mamerttieis, 113
 maraheis, 148, 149, 150
 marah[eis], 148
 marah[ieis], 148, 150
 marahii(s), 148, 150
 marahis, 148, 149, 150
 maraíieis, 148
 maras, 148, 149
 meddiki<a>i, 113
 meddikiaí, 208
 meddikkiai, 113
 medd[i]ks, 208
 meddiss, 23, 207, 208
 m(eddiss), 158
 medikiaí, 113
 medikkiaí, 113
 meeíikiieis, 126

Index of words

- mefi[ú], 113
 mefiái, 113
 mefiṭeí, 208
 menereviius, 128
 miínat(eis), 209
 miínieis, 26, 113, 209
 minaz, 209
 ṁinieís, 113,
 minies, 50, 113
 minis, 119
 minnieís, 113, 119
 mit(e)l, 215
 mutil, 215
 naseni(eis), 113
 neip, 209, 210
 nep, 210
 n(e)ip, 210
 ni, 139
 ṇi, 139
 ninium, 113
 nip, 209, 210
 niu, 139
 niumediiis, 139
 [n]iú(mseís), 139, 210
 niumsieís, 113, 132, 139, 210
 niumsis, 132, 139, 140, 210, 220
 niu(msis), 210
 [n]jumsis, 132, 139, 210
 numneís, 76
 núviiúí, 128, 129
 núvis, 210
 núvlanúm, 68
 p, 158
 paakúl, 214
 pakis, 214
 pakíu, 151
 pakíu(i), 113
 pakulliis, 214, 215
 papeis, 148, 149
 papii(s), 148
 passtata, 163
 patensins, 192
 peesslúṁ, 163
 perissstul[leís], 163
 perkedne[ís], 133
 peṛṇium, 68
 pestlúm, 158, 163
 pettiannuí, 56
 pettiṭe[l]is, 49, 151
 pettieís, 49, 151
 pettiur, 78, 113
 píđ, 196
 piíhiúí, 55, 151, 152, 156, 216,
 217, 218
 piístíai, 163
 pis, 218
 píspíđ, 218, 219
 plasis, 129
 prúfatted, 221
 prúffed, 188, 192
 prupukid, 220
 píiieh, 50
 píiiu, 219
 puinik(iis), 227
 púkkapíđ, 133, 219
 pumik(iis), 227
 pumperi(as), 115
 púmperia(s), 115
 púmperiais, 115
 púmperiaís, 115
 pumperias, 115
 [p]úmpunis, 66
 [p]úṁteís, 141, 220
 púmt(iis), 141, 220
 púnttiis, 220
 pun(ttiis), 220
 pupdiis, 47, 48
 púpidiis, 47, 220
 purasiaí, 113
 pús, 163, 220
 pússtíst, 163
 pústiris, 163
 pútíad, 150
 putíans, 150
 putiíad, 150
 putiians, 150
 puz, 220
 r[ah]iis, 150
 rahiieis, 150
 rahiis, 149, 150
 regatureí, 76
 saahtúm, 130,
 saka(ra)híter, 150, 151, 187
 sakraiṭir, 151
 sakrasias, 113
 santia, 126
 segúnú, 222
 senateís, 158, 222

Index of words

sent, 130
 sępieis, 49, 151
 serevkiðimaden, 222
 siviú, 129
 staatiis, 120, 224
 staattieis, 113
 staattiis, 158
 staflatas, 223
 stahint, 56, 150, 151
 stahint, 56, 150, 151, 187
 staíet, 150, 151
 staíis, 151
 staít, 151
 staílt, 151
 statiiis, 47, 123, 129, 148, 205
 statiiis, 47, 117, 148, 149
 stenis, 224
 stí<n>t, 163
 sullum, 223
 sup, 224
 suv(ad), 59
 suvad, 59
 súvad, 59
 súv(ad), 59
 suṽa(m), 23
 suveis, 59, 60
 sverrunei, 114
 tanginud, 224
 tanginúd, 224
 tanginú]d, 158
 teremenniú, 113
 tiiane(i), 150
 tiianei, 150
 tiium, 8
 tirentium, 113
 titti(is), 225
 tiú(m), 8, 23
 trebis, 225, 226
 tribarakat{.}tíns, 192
 tribarakkiuf, 113
 triíbarakavúm, 189
 triúbúm, 226,
 trístaaementud, 26, 163
 túvtíks, 225
 t(úvtíks), 158
 úh{.}tavis, 123, 129, 205
 úttíuf, 113, 213, 225
 últiumam, 113

up(i)l, 214
 úp(i)l, 214
 [up]illiunis, 113, 214
 úp(i)s, 212
 úp(is), 212
 upfalleis, 214
 úpfalliu, 113
 upfals, 214, 215
 upils, 214, 227
 úppiis, 123, 129, 205, 211
 úpsannúm, 158, 212
 upsed, 213
 upsiis, 210, 213
 úpsiiúí, 119, 213
 uupsens, 212, 213
 úvies, 129
 úviiú, 128, 129
 úvis, 211
 variis, 197, 198
 veñiia(nas), 151
 vehiian(asúm), 151
 <v>ehiianasúm, 151
 velehiã[ar], 151
 velieis, 113
 velliã, 113
 verehasiú<i>, 151
 verehasiúí, 151
 verehias, 151
 vereiiaí, 198
 víaí, 150
 vía(m), 150
 víam, 150
 [v]iã, 150
 viass, 150
 vibie[is], 113
 vibjei(s), 113
 vibieisen, 113
 viíbis, 198
 víkturraí, 114, 115,
 116, 126
 virrieis, 199
 víteliú, 113
 vítelliú, 113
 viú, 150

Etruscan alphabet

marahieis, 148, 149
 titaie(s), 225

Other Sabellic languages

Marrucian

iafc, 194
loisies, 205
peoi, 152, 216, 217
pioi, 152, 216, 217
uali, 197

Paelignian

alafis, 187
dida, 192
peo[i]s, 152, 216
pes, 216, 217
puus, 220
sabdia, 101
titiš, 225

‘Pre-Samnite’

πυσμοί, 187

South Picene

apais, 196
ęsmín, 196
pupúñies, 196
titienom, 225
titiúh, 225
uepetín, 196

Umbrian

abrof, 202
abrons, 202
ahesnes, 186
arvia, 125
aviekla, 125
dirsa, 192
eretu, 127
eso, 196
este, 196
face, 188
fakust, 188
habitu, 199
hereitu, 127
herie, 128
heriei, 128
heries, 127
heriiei, 128
heritu, 127

herter, 127
mehe, 208
míom, 208
muta, 34, 56
mutu, 34, 56
pehaner, 216
peihaner, 216
peŕae, 149
peŕaem, 149
pihaner, 216
plenasier, 117
pusnaes, 149
tacez, 127
tases, 127
tasis, 127
tekvias, 125
trebe, 226
trebo, 226
triia, 226
triiuper, 226

Vestinian

didet, 188, 192

Volscian

pihom, 151, 216,
 217, 218

Other languages

Etruscan

Aruns, 189
hercle, 200

Gothic

alls, 114
hita, 194

Greek

ἄλ(λ)ά, 162
 ἄλ(λ)ᾶ, 162
 ἀλλιβανον, 103
 ἀναγγελιοντι, 164
 ἀνέθηκε, 188
 Ἀρίστας, 163
 αρχης, 19
 Ἀρχίας, 126
 Ἀσστέας, 163
 [Ἀ]σστέας, 163

Index of words

Ἀστυάνας[σα], 163
 αυτει, 21
 Αὐτοπσία, 142
 βαννιος, 103
 βόθρος, 190
 βρεττιων, 19
 γλώσ(σ)ας, 162
 δεκεο, 21
 Δουκέτιος, 215
 ἐδάμα<σ>σε, 162
 Είλαρα, 140
 Ἑμαῦτα, 195
 Ἑμ(μ)ενίδας, 162
 ενγυθεν, 164
 επι, 19, 20
 ραριος, 198
 Ζεύς, 112
 ζυγόν, 112
 ηερμα, 21
 Ἡρακλῆς, 200
 ιερ(εως), 19, 20
 καθεκε, 21
 και, 21
 κῆνσος, 130
 Κλοφάτωι, 204
 Κόσσα, 204
 κυτάρισ(σ)ος, 162
 Λευκανοί, 206
 λευκός, 206
 λυκιανων, 206
 λύκος, 206
 λύνξ, 165
 μαμερτινων, 19
 Μειλίχιος, 126
 Νεμέριος, 211
 Νομάδες, 211
 νο(μος), 30
 νουιος, 103
 νυκς, 142
 νυμμελου, 19
 νυμφιος, 173
 Ξανθίας, 126
 Ὀνομάσστου, 163
 Ὀππιου, 211
 Ὀσειρινίου, 199
 Οφελιον, 105
 Πακκιος, 214
 Πακύλλου, 214, 215

παστάς, 163
 περίστυλον, 163
 πλατωρ, 219
 ῥάβδους, 102
 ῥάδους, 102
 Σ[ε]ρουειλιανοῦ, 199
 σφινγία, 164
 ταυτα, 21
 της, 19
 τό, 196
 Φερον, 105
 Φοῖνιξ, 227
 χαίρω, 127
 Χάρης, 203
 Χάρις, 203
 χθωνιε, 21
 ὥσστε, 163

Latin

Abōnius, 186
Abullius, 186
a(h)ēneus, 186
a(h)ēnus, 186
Alfius, 187
aper, 202
Arrius, 189
Arruntianus, 189
Audaeus, 189
Audeius, 49, 186, 189
Audius, 189
Aueius, 186
Auelius, 213
Auesidius, 186
Banius, 103
benēuolēns, 217
benēuolentissimus,
 217
būfō, 190
Butrōnius, 190
Caaro, 203
Caedicianus, 202
Caedicius, 48
Caedīcius, 202
Caedīcus, 202
Calenius, 202
Calinius, 202
caper, 202
capīō, 127

Index of words

- Caprōnius*, 202
Caprōtīna, 202
captus, 127
Carius, 203
cārus, 203
cēnsōr, 130
cēnsus, 130
Cerrīnius, 203
Cerrinus, 203
Claudius, 203
Clouatius, 204
coctus, 220
cognitus, 127
consul, 130
Cosanus, 204
Cottius, 204
dant, 188
dat, 188
Dir(r)ius, 193
domina, 193
enim, 194
Erūcius, 195
et, 21
Etius, 197
faciat, 127
faciō, 127
factitō, 227
factus, 127
Fannius, 103
ferō, 227
Ferum, 105
Festus, 227
Flōra, 228
Flōrus, 228
frūctus, 8
frūx, 8
Gaavia, 191
Gaius, 191
Gaius, 191
genitus, 127
Gnaeus, 191
gnārus, 191
gnāuus, 191
habēō, 199
Heluius, 195
heluus, 195
Hereius, 49
Herennius, 47, 116
Herennus, 116
Herius, 200
Herrius, 200
hoc, 195
Hōrātius, 201
horitur, 127
Horius, 200
Hortia, 201
Hortōrius, 212
ignārus, 191
Ilara, 140
illud, 195
ioubeatīs, 201
Iouis, 112
istud, 196
Iteius, 197
Itius, 197
iubeō, 201
Laetōrius, 212
Laniuiaie, 204
Laniuius, 204
Lānuuium, 204
Lanuuius, 204
licet, 204
loucanam, 205
Lūcanam, 206
Lucius, 206
manus, 207
Martius, 211
Minacius, 209
Nanonius, 209
Nanōnius, 63
Narius, 191
Nārius, 191
nārus, 191
Naus, 191
nāuus, 191
Numasioi, 210
Numerius, 211
numerus, 211
Numidae, 211
Numisio, 211
Numisius, 211
Occius, 211
Ofellium, 105
Opilia, 214
Opiliai, 214
Opilio, 214

Index of words

- Opilius*, 214
Opilli, 214
Opillio, 214
Opillus, 214, 227
Opilus, 227
Oppio, 211
Opsius, 213
Orfitus, 215
Orfius, 215
Ouidius, 227
Ouidius, 46
Paaci, 214
Paacili, 214
Pacatius, 215
Paccius, 214
Pācilius, 214
pacīscor, 215
Pācius, 214
Pacula, 214
Paculla, 214, 215
Pacutianus, 215
Pācuuius, 213, 214
pangō, 215
Paquius, 213
Pauillius, 213
Petīdus, 47
Petrōnius, 66
piēns, 217, 218
piētissimus, 217, 218
pius, 216, 217, 218
Pollius, 48, 219, 220
Pompōnius, 63, 66, 221
pondium, 220
Pontius, 220
Popidius, 47
Popīdus, 47
probāre, 104
probāuit, 221
probus, 104
Puculeio, 219
pūrus, 217, 218
quaestor, 163, 203
quīnctus, 220
Quintius, 126
quis, 218
quoius, 219
rectus, 221
rēx, 221
Sabīdium, 47
Safīdium, 47
Safīdus, 101
Scaffius, 21, 222
Scalpōnius, 63, 222
Sertōrius, 212
Seruilianī, 199
Setius, 197
Setteius, 197
Settia, 197
Settius, 197
siet, 128
Sitius, 197
Sittius, 197
Spellius, 223
Staatia, 224
Staatius, 224
Stallius, 224
Statius, 47, 224
Stenius, 224
Sthenius, 224
sub, 32
Surius, 224
taceō, 127
tacitus, 127
testāmentum, 26, 163
Tettidius, 47
Tettīdus, 47
Teucus, 226
Tītus, 225
Trebia, 226
tria, 226
Tureius, 225
Tūrius, 225
ualeō, 197
ueirtis, 123
uelim, 128
uērus, 199
ūnus, 211
Upellius, 227
Uppilius, 227
Usus, 21, 212
utiana, 213
Vārius, 197, 198
Varus, 197, 198
Veinuleius, 199
Venulenus, 199
Vērīnus, 199

Index of words

Victōria, 114, 126

Vinelius, 199

Vinileius, 199

vinuleia, 199

Vinuleius, 199

Virinius, 199

Vīrinus, 199

Virnio, 199

Messapic

platur, 219

platuras, 219

Vedic

hāryati, 127

tāt, 196

tvām, 194

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

- Archaisms, 69, 112
 Bilingualism, 5, 6, 7, 19–24, 25, 108,
 140, 172
 Borrowing, from Greek and Latin, 126,
 130, 147, 163–4
 Compensatory lengthening, 130–1, 171,
 181, 186
 Consonants
 Oscan, 8–10
 Dating of inscriptions, 5, 10–18, 37–8, 53,
 96–8, 100–3, 112, 175–7
 Dead letters, 2
 Dialects
 Greek, 6, 102–3, 105, 106, 155,
 168, 171
 Oscan, 3, 66, 69, 84, 111, 112,
 115, 123–5, 131, 140, 155, 165,
 182–3
 Etruscan, 1
 Etruscan alphabet, 1, 2, 148–50
 Faliscan, 1
 Geminate consonants, 112–25, 181,
 184, 197
 Glide insertion, 75–7, 138–9
 Greek. *See* [Dialects, Greek](#)
 Greek alphabet
 used to write Greek, 77–8, 105, 106, 108,
 142, 144–6, 147, 155, 156, 159,
 162–3, 164–5, 170–2
 used to write Messapic, 7
 Identity, 140–2, 173–4
 Italic, 1
 Latin, 1
 Latin alphabet, 2–3, 48, 60, 66, 67–8,
 110–11, 113–14, 132, 133, 147
 influence on Greek alphabet used to write
 Oscan, 156–8, 166
 Letter shapes, 11–12, 96–8
 Marrucian. *See* [Sabellic languages](#)
 Messapic, 7
 Morphology, Greek, 95, 171, 193
 Morphology, Oscan
 noun, 4, 10, 40, 53–6, 66–8, 183, 185
 verb, 10
 Names, Oscan, 20–1, 22, 50, 63–6, 101–2,
 117–20, 129, 140–1, 148
 Nasalisation, 132–3, 181, 185
 National alphabet. *See* [Oscan alphabet](#)
 Native alphabet. *See* [Oscan alphabet](#)
 Nocera, alphabet of, 1
 Official texts. *See* [Register](#)
 Orthographic traditions, 4–5, 24, 25, 30–44,
 79, 84–95, 124, 131, 136–7, 153–5,
 166, 167–75, 221–2
 Oscan alphabet, 1–2, 34, 60, 66, 67–8,
 110, 111–13, 114–16, 131–3, 147,
 172
 influence on Greek alphabet used to write
 Oscan, 76, 78, 136–66, 172–3
 Paelignian. *See* [Sabellic languages](#)
 Palatalisation, 112–29, 181, 184
 Pre-Samnite. *See* [Sabellic languages](#)
 Private texts. *See* [Register](#)
 Public texts. *See* [Register](#)
 Register, 124, 155–6, 169–70,
 193

Index of subjects

- Sabellic languages, [1](#), [6](#)
 Marrucianian, [1](#), [48](#)
 Paelignian, [1](#), [48](#)
 Pre-Samnite, [1](#)
 South Picene, [1](#), [67](#)
 Umbrian, [1](#), [67](#), [117](#),
 [169](#)
 Vestinian, [1](#), [48](#)
Scribal schools. *See* [Orthographic traditions](#)
South Picene. *See* [Sabellic languages](#)
Tabula Bantina, [2](#), [3](#), [16](#), [27](#), [48](#), [56](#), [66](#), [78](#),
 [81](#), [82](#), [84](#), [113](#), [116](#), [125](#), [130](#), [132](#),
 [133](#), [183](#), [227](#)
Umbrian. *See* [Sabellic languages](#)
Unofficial texts. *See* [Register](#)
Vestinian. *See* [Sabellic languages](#)
Vowels
 Etruscan, [2](#)
 Greek, [77–8](#), [170–1](#)
 Oscan, [2](#), [8–10](#), [76–7](#), [78–9](#), [156–9](#), [175–6](#)